JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE

HIS LIFE AND WORK

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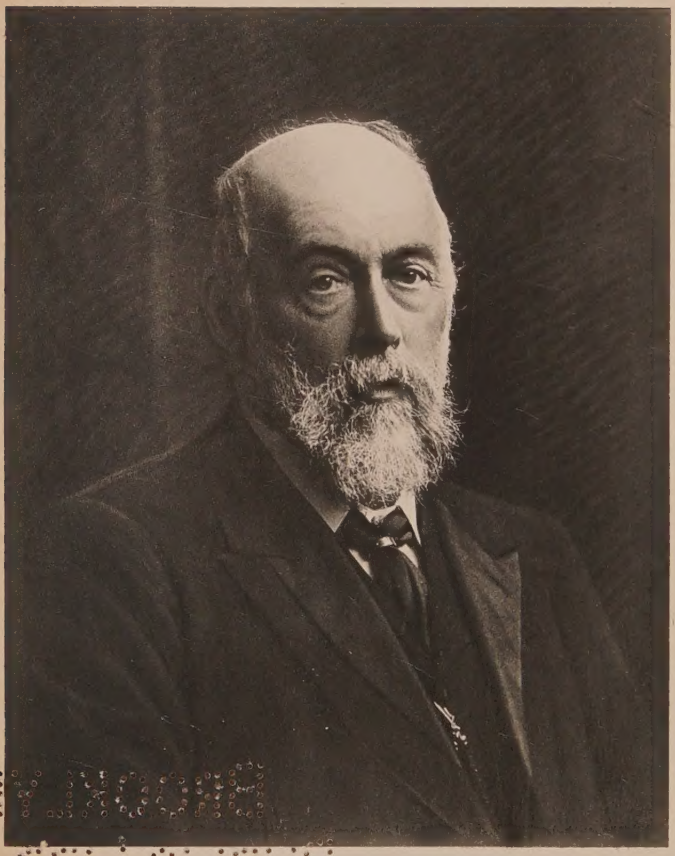

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John S. Rowntree

John Stephenson Rowntree

His Life and Work

Memoir by
PHEBE DONCASTER

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE lectures and articles printed in this volume were not prepared by the author with any thought of their being re-issued in collected form. As they relate mainly to one leading subject —the history and distinguishing beliefs of the Society of Friends —some overlapping is inevitable. Any considerable omissions from the text, chiefly made to minimise this overlapping, are marked by asterisks. Notes not by the author are signed by the Editor, Ernest E. Taylor. Norman Penney, Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, E.C., has given great assistance, especially in referring to original authorities. The Editors of *The Friend* and of the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* have kindly allowed the use of articles originally contributed to their periodicals.

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MEMOIR OF
JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE.

To all who have given me generous aid in the preparation of this Memoir, by their reminiscences, the loan of letters, or in any other way, I return my warmest thanks, in which John S. Rowntree's family desire cordially to unite. What may be of most interest in this record is due to those who have helped by placing their knowledge at my disposal. For faults in presentation I alone am responsible.

P.D.

MEMOIR OF JOHN S. ROWNTREE.

By Phebe Doncaster.

JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE was born at York, 2nd May, 1834, to a rich inheritance of character.

His father, Joseph Rowntree, was a strong, courageous, large-minded man, distinguished by a fine public spirit, and a genius for prompt, decisive action, when action was called for. He was a lovable man, warm-hearted and genial, and dowered with a buoyant elastic temperament which made much for his own happiness and that of others. He did work for his kind for which many to-day are the better and happier.

His wife, Sarah Rowntree, daughter of Isaac Stephenson, of Manchester, was a woman of great sweetness and strength of character. At one in everything, she seconded her husband nobly in all his undertakings and their married life was one of rare happiness.

John Stephenson was their eldest child. As a little boy he was full of life and energy, and fond of merry mischief. It was difficult to keep him in his nursery, as he liked to be in the midst of real goings on, and to see what was happening in the larger world around. He was an enterprising and venturesome boy. We are told that "he swung down the bannisters in a way that excited the terror of his nurses, and one day, when at Scarborough, he succeeded in getting out of an upstairs window, and amused himself by hanging from the window sill with his hands. At another time he burnt off his eyebrows when playing with some gas which he had collected in a large jar."

But with all his escapades he was an affectionate, guileless child, and entered with all a child's wondering delight into the beauty he saw around him. He loved to take long country walks round York, or, often, at Scarborough. Even as a little boy he proved himself a close and keen observer. The glad, joyous life of birds and animals awoke in him a thrill of answering sympathy and something of the poet's longing to discover and share the secret of its rapture.

One day, after noticing a frolicsome little dog rolling on the ground, he was found rolling himself over and over to find out what it felt like, and what made it so enjoyable.

Even when a grey-haired man he recalled the charm of his toys as distinctly as his delight in *Robinson Crusoe*. He remembered his first top, presumably when he was "three or four years old. It was a humming top," he said, in one of his essays, "large as a turnip, resonant as a bumble bee."

He used to tell how one of his earliest memories was that of seeing the Roman Baths uncovered on the site of the old railway station. He would describe the large pipes leading to the river, and his interest in learning the meaning of the word *Ouse* as Celtic for water.

A delightfully characteristic little journal has been preserved, begun when he was six years old. It notes, with careful exactitude, facts and events such as were of interest to him all his life. His habits of verifying statements for himself, and making sure of his facts, began early, and we can imagine the completeness of satisfaction with which the little boy of six-and-a-half sat down to record the result of one of his early experiments :—

"1 mo. 5. 1841.

"We put some worsted into a mug of water, and let it hang into a dry mug, and it brings the water down into it."

It may have been the same wish to put everything to the test of experience and to realise some of a traveller's sensations which led him, as a small boy, to sleep out on the floor of an open landing—probably the nearest available approach to the exciting experience of a night on the bare ground with nothing

between him and the stars—to wake, alas! in the morning from blissful dreams of adventure to the disapproving amazement of his nurse.

To return to the little journal. The next entry notes an event often recalled in after life :—

"1 mo. 9. 1841.

"The day before yesterday the thermometer was at 4°, and Aunt Hannah and I went to look at the people skating on the Ouse, and Henry [a younger brother] walked across it with Mary."

The opening of the Darlington and York Railway is duly recorded, also the number of bells on his hyacinth ; drives with his parents to Cottingwith and Selby Monthly Meetings, and the various interesting things the youthful diarist saw at Selby. After visiting Scalby Mills with a younger brother he notes —with secret joy in the remembrance of the episode—

"We got into the mill-dam and got very wet."

The home life must have been a very happy one in its perfect mutual trust and confidence. The little ones grew up in an atmosphere of love and duty, and the joy of service ; and whilst folded round by parental love and prayer, they were left free to develop their own individuality.

The religious influence of the parents was as wise as it was loving. It was not of a kind to make a child think about himself in any spirit of anxious or premature self-questioning. Its aim was not only to make him familiar with the story of the life and love of Jesus in Judea and Galilee, but to help him to understand his own experience and to recognise in the voice of conscience, in its prompting to right and its condemnation of wrong, the guiding presence of the same loving unseen Friend and Helper. And as the constant care and goodness of the Heavenly Father were dwelt upon, His claim, as Father, to the response of answering love and loyalty was taken for granted as simply and naturally as the claim of the human father to the love and obedience of his children.

To such influences the sensitive, sympathetic nature of the growing boy readily and early responded.

His mother was one of those beautiful and saintly souls to whom the vision of Christ, the recognition of His presence, was given in very early childhood, and continued through a long life of close communion. There is every reason to believe that her son was thinking not only of her experience, but of his own, when in later years he said *:—

"The children of Friends have no need to wait for their first communion. They are privileged to come to their first communion in the very opening days of their Christian life."

The first break in the happy family circle came with the death of the darling of the home, little "Sally," when about three. The child next in age recalls, as almost her first memory of her brother John, then twelve years old, her wondering awe at his extreme sorrow over an event she was herself too young to understand.

After some years of home lessons under a succession of teachers, John S. Rowntree began, in 1845, to attend the Friends' School, then in Lawrence Street, of which John Ford was head-master.

In the early stages of his school life he took as keen an interest in botany as in history, and distinguished himself by his excellent collection of pressed plants and ferns—for even then the study of Natural History was warmly encouraged in the School.

His straightforwardness in everything, with his kindly disposition, won him the confidence of masters and schoolfellows, and his influence was greater than he knew. Dr. Spence Watson gave the "Old Scholars," at their meeting in May, 1907, some interesting reminiscences of his schoolfellow. He said:—

". . . When I was a young lad at York School, I suppose sixty years ago, and he was one of the older boys, and one of those we looked up to very much, he was exceedingly and peculiarly kind to me. John Stephenson Rowntree was a boy for whom we all had a great respect. He was an excellent runner, an eager participant in all the games, an admirable cricketer, and one who

* At the Yearly Meeting of 1900.

had a strong moral influence unobtrusively but powerfully felt through the School."*

Out of school he was shy† and quiet, and fond of reading. But his delight in skating and in cricket was something he always remembered. Long afterwards he wrote :—

"When I left school I thought I never could be so happy again as I had been playing cricket."

In later years he felt that he had missed something, as a day boarder, through not sharing completely in the life of the School, and he arranged that his own children should live altogether at the schools to which he sent them.

On leaving school in 1850, he received the following letter from his head-master, who wrote on behalf of himself and his wife, Rachel Ford :—

"I send thee herewith and request thy kind acceptance of Dr. Arnold's *Lectures on History*, as a small token of the pleasant recollections with which my dear R. and myself look back upon the time during which we have had the partial care of thee, and of the affectionate interest with which we take leave of thee as a scholar.

"Though sorry to lose the influence of such in the school, yet it is with something more than pleasure that I see a youth arrive at the end of his schoolboy course, after having contributed diligently and successfully to maintain and to elevate the standard of intellectual attainment and of integrity and purity of conduct and conversation ; more especially if he has given evidence that something far beyond mere conventional propriety has been the spring and impulse which have prompted him thus to stand by the right. Accept from us the accompanying volume as a testimonial that we believe that such has been thy course, and that we are very truly thy affectionate friends, John and R. Ford."

When the summer holidays were over, in 1850, J. S. Rowntree entered his father's tea and grocery business in the Pavement, York. He gave himself with his usual thoroughness, to the mastery of its details and soon made himself a very efficient helper.

* *Bootham*, vol. iii. no. 5.

† "So much is to be learnt from other minds, often more than from books. I think I have missed good I might have got in this way, from shyness."—J.S.R. to S.E.R. 27. x. 1878.

In these years of happy comradeship in work the strong bond of sympathy between father and son was drawn closer, and resulted in an increasing fellowship in thoughts and interests.

Joseph Rowntree was an energetic and successful man of business, but his business, though important, never occupied the first place in his thoughts. "The large matters which concern human welfare" were always of keen interest to him. His private office often became a council chamber where matters of high moment to the Society of Friends, or to his own city, were discussed with kindred minds, some of them among the leading men of their day; and, after earnest conference, decisions were formed on educational or other points which have vitally affected the lives of succeeding generations.

The late Samuel Tuke, at times with one of his sons, Daniel, or James Hack, came in almost daily to confer with his friend, often on public affairs, and to consider plans of action. Samuel Tuke was sixteen years the senior, and Joseph Rowntree looked up to him, almost as to an elder brother.

A letter from the late James Hack Tuke, acknowledging a biographical sketch of his father, prepared for the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*,* which had given him special pleasure because written by a son of his father's "great friend and almost daily companion," refers to "the almost daily calls in the Pavement" as he walked home with his father in the evening. "I want just to see Joseph," was an almost constant remark as the father released his arm from his son's, and "made his way to the 'Counting-house' as it was called." Joseph Rowntree's enquiry, "'Is Samuel in?' was nearly as frequent, as he looked in when passing the old Castlegate premises"; also "First-day evening teas at Lawrence Street† in summer, and the after walk to the Meeting together."

Joseph Rowntree's fellow citizens and friends were continually coming in to consult him about their troubles and perplexities, to be met always with enheartening sympathy, and often to find

* See chapter xiii. † Samuel Tuke lived in Lawrence Street.

a way through difficulties where no way could be seen before. They had discovered the truth of what one who knew him well said :—

"Joseph Rowntree possessed a power I never saw equalled to make the concerns of others his own, with an ability to view all sides of a question which must surely have been the reason why so many resorted to him for counsel."

His character was "almost as remarkable for its tenderness as its force," for its radiating joyousness as for its strenuous earnestness. Wherever he went he gave the impression of a general largeness of nature. In words applied to him by the late Daniel H. Tuke, M.D., "he was 'of much device in council, considerate in a sick room, joyous at a festival, and not to be shrivelled up into any one form, fashion, or temperament.'"

Joseph Rowntree had done much for education, and the Friends' Schools at York and Ackworth owe more to him than can be told. It was largely through his energy and initiative that the removal of the Boys' School to Bootham was brought about. Encouraged by Samuel Tuke, he had been the leader in starting the Quarterly Meeting School for Girls, opened in 1831, in Castlegate, and removed in 1857 to its present site on the Mount. This has been spoken of as "his standing memorial." From 1830 until his death, he was honorary secretary to both Schools, and their welfare lay very near to his heart.

It can readily be imagined that constant association in work and interests with such a man as his father, and with the friends he gathered round him must have had a very stimulating influence in these years of John S. Rowntree's youth and early manhood. His mind and character matured early, and his intellectual independence of thought and judgment asserted itself.

Loyalty was always one of his strongest instincts. His sympathetic nature could not but be deeply interested in the great questions which he often heard discussed, nor could he fail to be impressed by the strength of conviction with which the views he listened to were held. But it was impossible to him

to accept, as proved, the conclusions of others, even of those he loved and reverenced most. It was a necessity of his nature to think out everything for himself. He became a diligent student of history, taking special interest in Church history, and sought to test every theory which challenged his attention, every assertion to which he listened, by the facts of life, in history and human experience.

He must have been long aware of his father's concern about the declining state of the Society of Friends. This concern had laid hold upon Joseph Rowntree in very early life. Even when a young man of twenty-four he was (with his elder brother John Rowntree, of Scarborough), full of anxiety about the future of the Society; in fact he saw no far future for it, unless radical changes were made and new life infused. His concern was not shared by those around him, who felt it disturbing to their peace. He was rather severely taken to task for his fears, and urged not to worry.

But the well meant counsel was in vain. He continued to ponder over the causes of decline, and to work quietly for reform and reconstruction with the hope and prayer that when the time was ripe, his son might devote himself to the upbuilding which he saw to be so necessary. Under date 4 mo. 21, 1851, he wrote to his son John :—

"Thou has already noticed, I doubt not, how few there are willing to devote time, strength and property to the service of their fellow creatures, and to the affairs of our own Religious Body, as evidence of their gratitude to Him, who in His love to us, gave His own life for us—offering it as an atonement for our sins—and enabling us, through our confidence in Him, to look unto God as a reconciled Father. May my dear John be one of this number, and may we both feel that we are not our own ; but that, being bought with a price, we are bound by the claims of gratitude to live unto Him and not unto ourselves."

Meantime his son's life was becoming full of activities and interests. Soon after leaving school he had begun on Sundays to teach a class of boys, a work of absorbing interest, out of which much larger things were to grow in the future. His

position as the eldest son at home involved, at times, duties and responsibilities not altogether easy to his shy and retiring nature, and his watchful mother did not fail to put in, now and then, a word of encouraging reminder. We find her writing to him during her absence with his father, at the Yearly Meeting of 1853:—

"I am glad to think thou will be with the dear ones in Bootham to-morrow, and extend some care and right influence over them; be not backward, my dear boy, to take thy right place in the family, and support good order and good feeling when we are absent as well as present."

Business then, as for long afterwards, was exacting in its claims. The hours were long and left him little leisure for the pursuits of his choice, and for the thought and study with which he prepared for his engagements. He read many of Isaac Taylor's books, which appealed strongly to his reflective nature, and which probably helped, in their turn, to strengthen his judicial habits of mind.

But underlying his intellectual calmness and freedom from bias, there was much fervour of spirit. At an age when the story of a noble career makes perhaps its most powerful appeal, helping to form the standards or shape the ideals of a lifetime, it is remembered that one book by which he was deeply stirred was the memoir of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, which formed the theme of earnest, though unrecorded, discussions with his friend and schoolfellow, Frederic Seebohm.

When he reached the age of twenty-one, he was taken into partnership, and left his father's home in St. Mary's to live in the Pavement, and at this early age, to preside over a large household of young men.

Meantime his interest in his own religious community had been steadily deepening. Questions with regard both to its past and future began to stir in his mind, rousing him to earnest thought and study. Wherever he went in his travels, and on his holidays, he attended the meetings of Friends, sometimes in little out-of-the-way country places, sometimes in the towns, and

everywhere he took careful note of their condition and of changes that were taking place. In 1853, he was present at the last sitting of Settle Monthly Meeting, when it was transferred to Brighouse Monthly Meeting.

In 1854, he attended for the first time the Yearly Meeting of Friends in London. It was before the days of quick reports and a weekly *Friend*, and he wrote home accounts of the proceedings. Always on the watch for the aim and point of an address, he took no note of irrelevancies, but enlivened his report with a touch of criticism now and then.

He says (26th May, 1854) :—

"The discussion on the State of the Society disappointed me. Several spoke with clearness and power to some *points*, but *no one* grappled with the subject in a large and comprehensive manner."

A mature criticism from a youth of twenty, and one revealing his habit of mind which, even then, led him to view questions in their relation to one another and to a larger whole.

In 1856, he was again at the Yearly Meeting. He noted with something like alarm that one large Quarterly Meeting reported the absence of vocal ministry in two-thirds of its meetings.

Facts like this sank deep into the mind of the young listener, and were silently pondered over.

The opportunity for utterance was near at hand. It came at one of the most intense and vivid periods of a young man's life, for he was looking forward to marriage in the summer of 1858, with Elizabeth Hotham, of Leeds, who was to prove herself, through more than sixteen years of happy union, strong to uphold and tender in faithful love and sympathy.

In March of this year, 1858, there appeared a public invitation for essays on the causes of the decline in the Society of Friends. It was not a time when it was easy to undertake such a task, but here was his opportunity, and he would not miss it. His essay, one amongst a large number of others, was awarded the first place, and afterwards published under the title of *Quakerism*

*Past and Present, being an enquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland.**

It is a sketch of the history of the Society of Friends from its rise, written with the aim of tracing the causes of its decline to their source, and showing how the seeds of weakness had been sown through inadequate or partial conceptions of truth, and through mistakes and imperfections in Church arrangements.

These causes might be roughly grouped under three heads, and their nature is indicated by the three directions in which he pointed out the urgent need for change.

(1)—As the goal to be aimed at. That the Society of Friends should seek to live for others and not for itself. That it should recognise its mission to the world, and give its message faithfully, since its very life depends on going forward. The Church which lives for itself must die.

(2)—That to set itself free for this great task, and make it possible to fulfil it, the Society should break fettering bonds in its organisation, or "discipline," as it is called, and abolish rules interfering with individual liberty. Especially that it should cease to disown its members for marrying out of the Society, or for paying church-rates or tithes; in short, that it should cease to enforce a rigid uniformity of faith and practice where no moral law was infringed; and that it should leave the individual conscience free.

(3)—That in order to do these things—to become qualified to do them—and so fulfil its mission, its members should seek to consecrate themselves afresh to the service of Truth, and in an earnest, humble spirit set themselves anew to learn its lessons. That, through study of Scripture and experience, it should gain truer, wider views of the nature of Spiritual guidance, and a spiritual call. That it should recognise the sacredness of all gifts and all life, and learn to practice a freer and wider adaptation of means to ends; and that the Society should give itself with energy to the better moral and religious education of its members, particularly of its children. †

These thoughts are very familiar now to Friends. Since that time they have been again and again urged upon us by a noble

* Smith Elder & Co., 1859.

† See Appendix I.

band of leaders, notably in recent years by the late John Wilhelm Rowntree, an inheritor in a large degree of the spirit of his grandfather, Joseph Rowntree, and the teaching has borne fruit. Many of the reforms pleaded for have been effected. A new spirit has been aroused, and work for others, through Adult Schools, Home and Foreign Missions and, more recently, Summer Schools and Settlements, has rekindled interest and zeal, and helped to inspire new life and vigour.

But whilst, in the last generation, many bore upon their hearts the need for reform and re-vitalisation, it should not be forgotten that John S. Rowntree was the first to give adequate expression to this need, and to bring home to the Society at large the danger which threatened it. He was the first to explain clearly and comprehensively, so that all could understand, the causes which had worked together to bring about this condition, and which needed only to be stated to suggest the lines of remedy.

The book aroused great interest, and was widely read ; sometimes with alarm and dismay, sometimes with indignation ; but by minds prepared for it, the essay was welcomed with sympathy and thankfulness.

John Bright wrote :—

"Rochdale,
"12 mo. 15. 1859.

"My dear Friend,

"It was very kind of thee to send me a copy of thy book. I have read it, with great pleasure, and yet not without sorrow. I derived pleasure from its style, its accurate reasoning, its enlightened views, and its excellent temper ; and the sorrow was caused by the reflection that, although so many causes of the declension of our Society are clearly pointed out, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to see how the long existing mischief can now be remedied. This puzzles me extremely, and the more I think of it the more difficult does it seem to make the changes which are supposed to be needful—for these changes must not only be made, but must be worked out by instruments formed in a different school, and with almost wholly different aims. The only comfort is that the Friends are, after all, the most tolerant people on earth, and I verily believe

our little Church is the only one that could freely discuss and make great reforms, without schism and something like dissolution. So we may hope to go on by degrees . . . I hope the work may do much good . . .

"I am thy sincere friend,

"JOHN BRIGHT."

Others wrote in quite an opposite strain. One dear Friend, whom everyone loved and honoured, misunderstood the object of the essay and was much troubled by it. He was too kind and direct to relieve his feelings by a denunciatory letter to one of the Society's periodicals, but he wrote to the young author himself, rebuking the presumption which had led him to imagine weaknesses in "our beloved Society," and to question the wisdom of its venerable usages. The mingled feelings with which the book was received on its appearance, and the fear felt by some that any criticism of the current views and practices of Friends meant laying profane hands upon a sacred ark, will perhaps be better understood if part of the letter referred to is given here :—

"No member of the Society should treat its history, its institutions and its reputations as thou hast done. . . . Dost thou not think, on a calm review, that there is something in the style of thy writing, that there is at least in appearance, an air of scorn and contempt for the Society and its usages and practices ?

"Perhaps no writer has made more use of the term 'Quaker' than the late Thomas Clarkson—but he does it with a friendly aim, and generally in a kind and approving intention—thy use of it is far otherwise.

"In my apprehension, many of thy statements are incorrect or overstrained . . . With respect to the Discipline and its exercise for payment of tithes and church rates, as though disownments on these grounds were very numerous, I consider thy manner of representing it is unfair and untrue. . . . I have been intimately acquainted with the administration of the Discipline for seventy years and cannot recall to mind an instance of disownment for the payment of tithes or church rates. Church teaching should be to edify, to build up—not to demolish, scatter and break down all the useful waymarks ; this sort of teaching will do us no good. I would be thankful to hear that thou hast seen thy error. Thy grieved and afflicted friend —— ——."

Part of the reply to this may be given here. After thanking the writer for his letter, and expressing his inability to reply to many criticisms received, John S. Rowntree continues :—

"but I cannot pass by one from a 'Bishop' like thyself (using the word in its apostolic sense), without expressing my regret that anything in the book referred to should have grieved thee. In treating of so great a subject as that on which I have written, it would indeed be presumptuous for me to suppose that in all cases I have spoken the truth as wisely and as judiciously as it might have been done—but after the calm review which the fifteen months that have elapsed since the work was written have enabled me to take, I am of the decided judgment that there is no just ground for the accusation that the Society is treated with 'scorn and contempt,' and the very reverse was indeed my feeling. The use of the word 'Quaker' for 200 years has so familiarised us with it that we now hardly look on it as a reproachful appellation. . . . I trust I shall never be ashamed to acknowledge a mistake and so to own, as the poet says, 'I am wiser to-day than yesterday,' and if through inadvertence any fact be wrongly stated—or any opinion expressed which can be shown to contravene sound reason, Scripture, or experience, I shall be more than willing to retract it. I do not see that thou establishes any one of thy points, and highly as I should value thy opinion on many questions, I apprehend that individual sentiment, unsupported by evidence, is of comparatively little value when urged against a large amount of carefully ascertained fact. I could have wished that thy seventy years observation of the working of our discipline, etc., had led thee to the same result as my short experience, but thou wilt remember, my dear friend, that in that seventy years, the Society has diminished *one-third*,—and there must be something very wrong when a noble vessel founders on a smooth sea. Thy letter will make no difference in my mind as to the veneration with which I look up to thy great experience; nor lessen my love to thee for thy work's sake."

To the charge that instead of decorously veiling he had laid bare the weaknesses of his own religious body, John S. Rowntree had indeed to plead guilty. He had—

> "read each wound, each weakness clear;
> And struck his finger on the place,
> And said: *Thou ailest here,*
> *and here!*"

—but after years, the devotion of a lifetime, were to prove the love and loyalty which had prompted his action.

It may be mentioned that in advanced life J. S. Rowntree remarked that on only one point had he materially changed any opinion advocated in this Essay. He had written in his youth against birthright membership. In later years he defended it. The change of thought was largely brought about by his deepening sense that all through life every step upward and onward in spiritual experience means a fuller recognition of spiritual realities and relationships existing before, and only waiting to be seen and grasped to become the actual and joyful experience of the seeking soul. A spiritual inheritance, like any other, is a personal possession before it is practically entered upon and enjoyed; it is a possession until renounced or forfeited. John S. Rowntree came to regard birthright membership as largely based upon a perception of this truth. He would illustrate it by the relation and love of parent to child, or the fact of nationality before its meaning can be understood and valued.

Experience came in to strengthen this view. As his own children grew up around him, he felt any other position unthinkable; and more and more he came to value the help, both to parents and children, of their being members of the Society from the first, and as members, the objects of its loving care and oversight.

His later attitude towards this question is shown in an article published in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, Fourth Month, 1872, entitled, "Membership in the Society of Friends."

The writing of *Quakerism Past and Present* marked an epoch in John S. Rowntree's life. It was an event which influenced its whole after course. For he had had a vision of what might have been if, from the first, Friends had been true to their calling. They might have become such a power in the land as to make its whole history different, and in incalculable ways the world might have been a better and a happier world. Not for the sake of a small religious denomination, but for the sake of humanity, he mourned over the chances lost and opportunities

missed. And then there came to him another vision of what yet might be, of "a great people to be gathered," of great deeds to be done as soon as Friends are ready for them.

To the late William Thistlethwaite he wrote :—

"24. 2. 1860.

"It is beyond the range of human capacity adequately to estimate the amount of happiness that might have been conferred on mankind had the Society of Friends maintained the numerical position it held in 1680. Its numbers would now have exceeded 300,000. . . . What influence would not such a body have exercised on the government of England! Can we over-estimate the reproach that has been brought on the Christian name by the selfish cruelty of Englishmen in heathen lands? Leaving slavery out of the question, I take it that the unrighteous doings of the strong white men towards the weak aborigines of America, of Kaffir Land, of Polynesia, of India and of China, are amongst the foulest modern blots on England's escutcheon. Could the Opium Trade have been nursed into its present proportions, could the Indian and Chinese Wars ever have been perpetrated, had a quarter of a million true-hearted Friends lived in England? When we think what 20,000 have done, we say assuredly not! And who then shall say what hindrances to the Redeemer's Kingdom could have been removed, or rather, would never have existed? Such considerations convince me that it need be in no spirit of partizanship or mere sectarian narrowness, that we ask, even earnestly, what are the remedies for the present state of the Society of Friends.

"We cannot believe that the Head of the Church is less willing than formerly to dispense the gifts and graces of His Holy Spirit. If He were, all attempts at mere human reformation would be impotent. It is my belief that if we were to entertain broader and ampler (and in reality more self-humbling) views, in reference to the work of the Holy Spirit, that these gifts would be greatly multiplied among us, to the edification of the body. There would be more of prayer, private, family, and congregational, more rightly authorised Ministers. A loving, gathering spirit would infuse itself into every department of ecclesiastical action, and instead of the gates of the Church being 'open continually' for the expulsion of the disowned, they would be shut neither day nor night to the accession of new converts in the warmth of their first love, and instead of being 'despised, so that no man went through her,' she would become 'an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.'"

"The best way to deal with things as they are is to see them as they ought to be."

A vision had been given him of what Friends might have been —of what they yet may be ; and it was a vision he never forgot. For it came to him as a call to labour for its realisation. He had had his dreams of the future, of a possibly distinguished public career, but now they were merged in a larger and finer ambition, an ambition not for himself alone but for the body to which he belonged, that it might take its true place, the place it was meant for, in the service of humanity. He longed that it might throw off its shackles, put on new strength and gird itself for the fulfilment of its high destiny.

What could be more worth doing than to help, as far as one man might, to bring this about ? How could it be brought about unless it was energetically worked for, and who more bound to work for it than he ?

And so, without any flourish of trumpets, very quietly and simply, just doing "the next thing" as it came, he gave himself to what was to be a lifelong labour of love.

He was not a man of leisure or of large means. He could not forsake his business for what might have seemed a higher task, but his life was to be one more proof that he "who keeps one end in view makes all things serve." He had the welfare of his own religious community, and the larger welfare involved in it, so constantly at heart, that all his experience was made to serve it, often in unexpected and surprising ways.

New and unlooked for duties were soon to come crowding upon him. His father died in 1859, sinking under an illness which had attacked him in what seemed the fulness of his strength and vigour, and in the midst of many and varied labours for his own city and the Society of Friends.

In the almost overwhelming sorrow of his personal loss John S. Rowntree at once responded to the call to take his share in the attempt to carry on his father's work.

Amongst other offices he accepted the secretaryship of the Friends' Schools in York and gave himself with earnest care to

the duties of the post, which he continued to hold until 1897, with ever-increasing interest, and if possible, increasing devotion. In addition to the secretaryship he held the office of honorary treasurer to the Girls' School for forty-four years.

Perhaps no line of service could have been more congenial to him, or have better furthered the aims he had at heart.

He had formed the highest estimate of the importance of educational work as laying the foundation of every other form of service for man, and he looked upon the vocation of the teacher as one of the highest that any man or woman could follow.

He desired that the education given should be as thorough and complete as possible, that it should aim at making the best of every boy and girl, and that educators themselves should be efficiently trained and equipped.

At this time the interest felt in the higher education of boys and girls was not nearly so widespread as it is now : nor was the nobility of the teacher's calling and status at all adequately or generally recognised. It was a great encouragement and stimulus to those on the teaching staff of the Schools to have a secretary so warmly in sympathy with their highest aims, and desirous to forward them in every possible way.

John S. Rowntree was not content merely to fulfil the technical duties of his post. The heads of the Schools soon found that they had in him a trustworthy friend to whom they could talk freely of the immediate problems they were facing, their difficulties and perplexities. They found him ready to consider these with a helpful and comprehending sympathy which made it easier to see the right way through them, and left the relieving sense of a responsibility shared. His visits were very frequent. At any time of special strain or anxiety, as in a case of illness in either School, he would call in daily, to see what help it might be possible for him or others outside to render. The members of the teaching staff, one or two at a time, were often asked to his house, especially after his removal to Mount Villas in 1865.

In these early days the teachers were often less highly qualified, scholastically, than they are now, but even those who were

youngest and least experienced, who might be feeling humbly conscious of small attainments, found themselves welcomed when they came to Mount Villas, not only with warmth and courtesy as friends, but with a very pleasant kind of distinction and respect—an honour rendered to the calling they had chosen —which tended to raise it still higher in their own estimation, and to make them more than ever desirous to prove themselves worthy of it. In the course of time, boys and girls from the Schools also came to be frequent guests. Their host would think of interesting things to tell them, or he would compare nature notes with them and encourage them to talk of anything they had observed in their walks and excursions: the birds they had seen or heard, or the flowers or ferns they had discovered. The youngest boy or girl who had a relevant fact to offer or an observation to report found it listened to as deferentially as if a University Professor were the speaker; and there came, in time, to be happy rivalries as to who could hear the first cuckoo or see the first swallow or swift of the year, or who could enjoy a thrush's song at the earliest hour in the morning, and so on.

Young students found that to the end of his life, John S. Rowntree was a student himself, always searching for fresh illustrations of whatever subjects he was engaged upon.

He would ask some unexpected question about an interesting fact, or start an inquiry as to its cause to which no one could reply, explaining that he was trying himself to find out the answer, and so would start other minds too on a new line of inquiry or observation.

A former pupil at the Mount contributes some recollections of her schoolgirl visits. She enjoyed pretending to resent the "searching questioning to which one was subjected as to what was meant by 'bands' in the phrase, a clergyman's 'gown and bands'; what writing materials did Alcuin use? and many other kindred questions.

"I remember once, after answering 'I don't know' many times in succession, being goaded to retort 'It is now my turn to ask a question, in my own line,—Do you admire a dress, made with

a Watteau pleat down the back? This rash indiscretion was soon punished, for I was subjected to a searching interrogation as to the date of the French painter Watteau, the school of art to which he belonged, etc., which soon reduced me to the usual murmur of 'I don't know.' Many odd bits of information which I now possess, I owe to a hurried rush for the encyclopædia, on returning from Mount Villas."

To the secretarial and routine work of the Schools John S. Rowntree gave his time and thought in the most ungrudging way. He would spare no labour or pains to make every statement exact and clear, and he would spend long hours in preparing the Annual Reports of the Schools, seeking to make them full and complete in the fewest words possible.

His sense of the high importance of educational work and the greatness of the issues involved in it, lent dignity and worth to its very smallest details, and made him more than willing to spend time and strength over what some might have felt mere drudgery. It is calculated that during many years he could not, on an average, have given less than one day a week to the service of the Schools.

At the Whitsuntide gathering, May, 1907, of the Mount Old Scholars' Association, the late Principal of the School, Lucy Harrison, gave felicitous expression to the feeling with which John S. Rowntree's work for the School was recalled by those connected with it. She said:—

"There are amongst the countless people we meet in life a few who, if we have any intercourse with them, do not leave us where they found us; contact with them raises our standard of character and our estimate of life and duty, and ever after knowing them we, perhaps unconsciously, measure ourselves and others with reference to their example. Such a one was John Stephenson Rowntree.

"Since our last gathering of Old Scholars his familiar figure has passed from among us, and his voice for us is silent. When once more at Whitsuntide, in the old fashion, the two Schools meet in the happy union which tells of loyalty to *alma mater*, some words, however inadequate, seem called for to express the sense of loss we all feel in John S. Rowntree's death; and at the same time not less natural is expression of the feeling that his spirit lives and breathes in the life of the Schools for which he worked so long and so unsparingly.

"Both Schools enjoyed his help, but here, and to-night, perhaps we may speak more especially of the Mount, for whose welfare, I always thought, he manifested a peculiar care.

"Those of us who are interested (and which of us is not ?) in the well-being of our School, who feel grateful for help received within its walls, who love it for what it has been, for what it is, and who have worthy longings for what it may become, can never forget what we owe to John Rowntree, for without his feeling for it, his appreciation of its needs, the work he did for it, it could not have been what it is.

"It is now more than seventeen years since I first met John Rowntree, and during those years I had the opportunity of seeing something of his manner of work for the Mount. He brought into his labour of love the thoroughness, the conscientious, laborious care which a man might give to the building up of a fortune for himself. He grudged neither time nor strength, and he must many a time have given up the pursuit of some fascinating hobby to labour over dull details and accounts, and routine work. There were parts of this work which I soon found were particularly irksome to him; for instance, the going over the house at the end of the session to decide where repairs were needed, and where they could be dispensed with for another year. He had little interest in this, and indeed greatly disliked it, but he never shirked it. This may seem a small matter, but small things may become great through their treatment. Along with faithfulness in small things went a most noticeable determination to get at great principles and to judge of matters from the highest standpoint, and with all this he was ready and willing to give careful consideration to what one had to say when opinions differed.

"Nor was the time actually spent in committees, and over account books, over reports and correspondence, surprising as this was, all that he gave. I often found that in the interval which might elapse between one visit and another, the thought of the School had been with him, and such searching attention had he been giving to the business in hand, that when the time for decision came he had weighty suggestions to offer. It seemed sometimes as if he had borne the School on his heart, as a kind father thinks for his child in his absence. During all the years that I knew John Rowntree, his interest in the School never flagged, and we have but to look round to see witnesses of his love for it. He took great interest in the library and the gift of *The Dictionary of National Biography* is only one amongst many which he made to it. The importance he attached to the teaching of science was attested by his efforts to procure the observatory for the School, and we must all remember

the encouragement he gave to the girls' Natural History Exhibitions, and the charming and racy little speeches he would sometimes make on these occasions.

"Any record of John Rowntree would be most incomplete if mention of one aspect of his work for education was omitted, I mean his broad-minded view as to the higher education of women. A judgment unwarped by conventionality and prejudice, and a rare sense of justice made him eager to procure for women, through education and training, full equality of opportunity, and led him to recognise in a special manner the importance of offering to women a fair field for the exercise of their energies as citizens and as Church members.

"It is for these, as well as for many other reasons, not mentioned in this record, that we at the Mount School and all Old Scholars, feel perhaps in a unique way John S. Rowntree's death, and why in this place we shall ever keep his memory green."

Not only the "rare sense of justice" to which Miss Harrison alludes, but all the chivalry of his nature was enlisted on behalf of the higher education of women, and particularly of women teachers. He would often urge that they had fewer helps and advantages than men, and he would remind Friends that "no Benjamin Flounders * had yet arisen to leave £40,000 for the training of young women," though the Society needed more women teachers than men.

With the valued co-operation of Lydia Rous, he was the mainspring of the Association for the Training of Women Teachers started in 1870, and which is still carrying on its useful work.

One of his coadjutors writes :—

"Those who have had the privilege of working with him upon Education Committees know something of his zeal in this direction, and how, whilst pleading for a sound practical basis, he was ever ready to take advantage of new lines of development which he saw would be for the good of the students and for their usefulness in the future. If he could not acquiesce in a fresh proposal, he was always

* Benjamin Flounders, of Yarm, died in 1846. He bequeathed money for the training of young men as teachers in the schools and families of the Society of Friends. The Flounders College or Institute was founded in 1848. Its original home was at Ackworth, but it was removed to Leeds in 1894, where it now serves as a Hall of Residence for young men in connection with the University of Leeds.

ready to re-consider his decision, or to waive his own judgment if he found that others, in touch with present-day requirements, favoured some new departure."

As this writer shows us, John S. Rowntree was always ready to accord to others the liberty of opinion which he claimed for himself.

One wish that he had at heart still awaits realisation. Could not Friends do anything, he would ask, to help masters in our Schools to find some other vocation when they had been teaching long enough ?

He would point out that the Church of England can easily find honourable posts for such men ; and though Friends have not corresponding facilities at their disposal, he believed, nevertheless, that something might be done to meet this real need adequately and worthily. " Difficulties," he would say, " exist to be overcome."

When acting as Treasurer, John S. Rowntree considered it a part of his duty to press the claim of the Schools to liberal support upon the attention of Friends. He would point out that those who help forward the work of education are, at the same time, helping forward whatever form of service for man they may have most at heart. Those who support our Schools, he urged, are also supporting home and foreign missions, and every form of human service to which Friends are or may be called, by preparing efficient and qualified workers.

For many years he was one of the Flounders Trustees, and later he served as Treasurer on the Friends' Education Committee. His increasing knowledge and experience of the educational policy of Friends enabled him to voice its needs and aspirations with authority and influence.

As already stated, J. S. Rowntree's work for education, one only of many lines of service, was entered upon very soon after the death of his father, an event which had a profound influence upon him. It added new sacredness to duty, deepened his convictions, quickened his sympathies and awakened new perceptions and sensibilities. In his deep personal sense of loss

and sorrow, his thoughts often turned to one and another who might be missing some joy or privilege which they could no longer hope for. His heart went out to them in sympathy, and led him to do himself what he knew his father would have done for them. To give one instance : in these busiest of years, alongside with efforts to reform the constitutional procedure of his Religious Society, or to advocate a truer and more progressive policy, he would not forget to meet some young cousins, orphaned children, on their way to school through York. He would take them out to lunch in the City, and give them a good time somewhere, perhaps in the Museum Gardens. He would tell them stories and facts of interest about St. Mary's Abbey which have been remembered by them ever since, before setting them forward on their way with gladdened hearts and lightened spirits ; and this he continued to do at the beginning and end of every vacation till the school years came to an end.

Many now can recall such instances of the "little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love," which Wordsworth tells us are the "best portion of a good man's life" : unremembered by himself, but never forgotten by some whose lives were the richer for them. It was part of the large completeness of his mind and of his practical nature that he could always see and feel the value of the smallest details as a part of the whole of life and service. Anything that could give help or pleasure seemed to him abundantly worth while, and he could never doubt that "what does good for a moment does good for ever," living on in some human heart to repeat itself perhaps in the future.

His call to the ministry had come to him before this time, and after his voice was first heard in meetings for worship, he had known the encouragement and strength of his father's sympathy. One who remembers his earliest ministry says it was fresh and thoughtful, "but he was at first rather hesitating and self-distrustful till help came to him through finding that his friends felt and acknowledged the gift he had received."

He was recorded a minister in 1864. His own share of ministerial service gave him a deep sympathy with that of others, both older and younger, and he did not fail in showing it.

An esteemed minister was visiting York on religious service about this time, under a secret feeling of deep inward discouragement. She told afterwards of a walk through the city with John S. Rowntree, who escorted her from his mother's house to the evening meeting. With sympathetic insight he had probably divined her depression, and it nerved him to break through his natural shyness and reserve, and to tell her how, years before, in a "family visit," some words of hers had gone home to his heart with helpful power and been just the message he needed. As she listened her sadness and depression passed away, and she entered the meeting with a song of rejoicing in her heart, strong once more to do her part and to speak the message given her—but this he did not know until long afterwards when she had passed beyond the hindering power of discouragement.

Another time, a girl visitor, walking home with him after a Preparative Meeting, at which the "General Advices" had been read, made critical remarks on what seemed to her the rather alarming and unilluminating character of the Advice "to those contemplating marriage." Instantly divining, beneath her intentional lightness of tone, a real desire for some guiding principles, he began to say what he thought these were, and the task occupied him all the rest of the walk, to the inward delight of his visitor, who had received, though he never knew it, just the help she was needing, but could not have asked for.

He did not always respond so quickly when problems and difficulties were started in the course of a conversation. It was not uncommon for anything of this character, even a direct question, to be received at the moment with what, to anyone who did not know him, would have seemed a chilling silence, perhaps followed by an entire change of subject.

The questioner who knew anything of his mental habits would simply wait in quiet expectation, and presently, perhaps another day, after his mind had had time to dwell upon the point,

he would revert to it himself, and bring the illuminating results of much patient thought to bear upon it.

Some of us recall various talks with him on the subject of personal guidance. He used to say that from early life he had made it a practice to do what he was asked to do in the way of service, if he felt this possible, and there was no manifest reason against it. And in acting thus he had afterwards reason to believe that he had been divinely guided.

It has been acutely said that "whole centuries of moral evolution" lie between the attitude of mind of the man who says: "Some one ought to do it, but why should I?" and that of him who says: "Some one ought to do it, so why not I?"

This was the question that John S. Rowntree was always ready to ask himself when a real need appealed to him. He distrusted the guidance of impulse, unless it had the sanction of reason and judgment behind it. He believed that many make mistakes or miss opportunities by waiting for some strong inward impression which ought not to be needed, and may never be given. His type of mind was very different from that of the Missionary Coillard,* but in this respect their experience was the same. Coillard was sure that he was guided but only very rarely was he conscious, at the time, of guidance.

To one considering an important decision, John S. Rowntree wrote:—

"In decisions like that you have to make, it is observable how, if one desires honestly to do the right thing, the path after awhile seems to open out pretty clearly from that which at first was a perplexing maze."

In these earlier years of happy married life, as his children came to gladden the home, each new relation brought with it some fresh revelation of truth, and out of the new joys grew new claims and duties. Beyond his home, widening paths of service opened out before him. He was often asked to give lectures and addresses.

* *Coillard of the Zambesi. The lives of François and Christine Coillard of the Paris Missionary Society, in South and Central Africa.* 1858-1904. By C. H. Mackintosh.

A spirited and effective reply to Macaulay's caricature of George Fox was the subject of his first published lecture. His addresses and pamphlets, which were always enriched by much happy historical illustration, reveal his mastery of his subject and his power of clear presentation. His style of writing may have been influenced by his early love for Isaac Taylor's books. It was, perhaps, more remarkable for lucidity, point and dignity than for the charm and brightness which often distinguished his impromptu speeches.

But it is probable that his unadorned style of writing grew out of something fine in his nature, his perfect faith in the power and sufficiency of any truth or fact to make its own impression, however simply or even barely stated. It was a part of his absolute sincerity of mind that he never tried to dress anything up, to embellish or adorn. His one aim and care was to find out the innermost truth of whatever he was considering, and then to let it speak for itself.

He was often asked to speak at Adult School meetings in other parts of Yorkshire, and it was a service which he loved.

As already mentioned, he had, in 1851, begun to teach a class of boys in Hope Street. After a time men also showed a wish to come, and a separate class for them was arranged, of which he was the leader.

In 1857 it became necessary to move into larger rooms in Lady Peckitt's Yard, and the School grew rapidly in numbers. In course of time it branched out in many directions, and in 1907 it celebrated its Jubilee.* Some men who were in John S. Rowntree's class at the beginning are living now, and wonderful stories are still told of the first tea meeting. It must have been a lively time. There was a great deal of speech making after tea, and one of the guests was irrepressible. He was the young teacher's former head-master at school, and instead of making the speech

* See *The Story of the York Adult School from the commencement to the year* 1907. By Frederic John Gillman. With an introduction by Joseph Rowntree.

expected of him he would talk of his old pupil, to the great delight of the men, and the great embarrassment of their teacher, and he wound up his address, at last, with words spoken of a king by his tutor, in which the ring of happy pride and satisfaction is still remembered, "*I taught the boy!*" One would give something now for a full report of this speech.

Vivid memories still remain of the graphic interest of J. S. Rowntree's early Adult School lessons, and his care to make everything so clear that all could understand. He would take pains to use simple words, and if long words came into the lesson he would make sure that the meaning was really grasped. He followed the Socratic method, sometimes questioning an idea into the minds of his class and then questioning it out again. The plan was successful with his men, but on one occasion it entirely failed to work. He was taking a class of women in another town and as he questioned they sat silent and unresponsive. "Why are you so quiet?" he asked, "Well, sir," said one, "you see it's this way. You do all the speaking, and we does all the thinking"! Whenever possible he used pictures or diagrams, or he would bring with him some object such as a locust, or an Eastern lamp, to illustrate the lesson. No one could feel more strongly than he did the difference between theology and life—the merely traditional creed of head and memory and the religion of heart and conduct. His care was to make the central meaning and truth of a Bible passage clear, and then to press home the practical applications of the truth itself, not his own opinions about the truth, or about the way in which it might be theologically stated. "It was delightful," one man says, "to hear him talk about Old Testament characters, he made them so wonderfully real." It is remembered still how he used the story of Moses and Aaron to illustrate "the difference between talking and working," and to emphasise the value of the quiet, faithful service of those who have "no gift of talk." The thoughtful men in his class found that difficult questions and perplexing problems were always honestly faced. No attempt was made to avoid them, or to explain what could

not be satisfactorily explained. At a Conference of Teachers held in Birmingham in 1867, J. S. Rowntree remarked,

"I believe that one of the leading features of the time in which we live is the disposition to endeavour to explain everything. . . . I think it is of importance that we should be willing to admit that there are many things we can never know in this life. . . . However highly endowed a teacher may be, he will frequently have to say, 'I don't know, and I never shall know.' We carry in our own persons an inexplicable mystery: we cannot tell, for instance, how the mind is joined to the body. It would be well to say that there are mysteries we cannot explain, and I am convinced this is the way to deal with certain classes of minds, as it was the way in which the Lord Himself dealt with Job—showing him that he was surrounded with mysteries in the outward creation which he could not solve; by which means he was at last led to confide in the goodness of God."

His own practice in teaching is also illustrated in some remarks he made at another Teachers' Conference at Darlington (August, 1874), where he was one of the Secretaries.

"A great deal of the freshness of our teaching depends upon the use of subjects for lessons which may arise almost incidentally —as for instance, the occurrence of anniversary days. . . . I have been frequently employed in giving a lesson on Slavery, commemorating the abolition of negro slavery in the British Colonies. . . . In many towns the occurrence of the races furnishes a good subject for a useful lesson the week before they occur."

Joshua Rowntree recalls a fine address delivered about this time to an Adult School Council Meeting.

"John S. Rowntree told how on his journey to Scarborough he had passed the ruins of Kirkham Abbey, and the sight had set him pondering on the causes of permanence and of decay in human institutions, and he had asked himself, Had the Adult School movement the elements of permanence within itself? He dwelt on the decay of vital religion under the predominance of ecclesiasticism, on the fettering of the freedom of the glad tidings to mankind by the laws and traditions of the Churches, and then, almost suddenly, turning to the decadence of Mechanics' Institutes in our day he ascribed this largely to the fact that they had ruled out religion and politics, the most engrossing of all themes to men; and finished with a powerful plea for liberty and growth in the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

After he had removed to Mount Villas he always, if possible, took flowers down to the class to be distributed afterwards, and these gave great pleasure. They were often gathered by his children who, as they grew old enough, liked to go to the School with their father. Once every summer, the Sunday morning lesson was given in his own garden.

One week-day gathering of the class is still vividly remembered. After tea, and an enjoyable time in the garden at Mount Villas, John S. Rowntree took all his guests, in a long procession of cabs, down to an exhibition then open in the City, and went round with them, pointing out or explaining objects of interest.

What his men came to know of his every-day life and interests strengthened the impression made in class on Sundays.

An old Adult Scholar says :—

"He was one of the few men I have met in the journey of life whose living pressed home his teaching, and you always felt that it was safe to follow both."

He had the happy gift of seeing latent capabilities of power and service, and of knowing how to bring them out. He would call attention beforehand to an opportunity which was likely to arise, or he would suggest lines of helpful service to one and another in his class, which they would never have thought of for themselves, but which were to prove rich in fruitfulness through long years to come. One man, thus started by him on a career of much quiet usefulness, now says gratefully :—

"I owe everything to Mr. Rowntree. Humanly speaking I shouldn't have been any use in the world if it hadn't been for him. When he was taken away it was like taking the ground from under my feet."

Behind all his other work lay the daily responsibilities of his business and his relations to his employés. Men who worked under him some forty years ago or more have told of the happy influence he exerted on their lives. One writes :—

"Few men that I have known, have revealed so nearly the Christ-life. I *loved* him both as a master and a man. I would to God there were more such. His Christian forbearance and longsuffering

to even unworthy employés at the Pavement used to call forth almost wonder, and I can only look back upon it with the deepest admiration. I think he comes to me more often than any man in my dreams. His sense of humour was so keen and his wit so ready. I would have liked to see him once more to thank him for the goodness always extended to me, and for the inspiration of his life which is ever with me."

Another Friend who worked under him for more than six years, writes :—

"What struck me most was his great spirituality and conscientiousness, his strong common-sense, his generosity and his very deep affection. . . He seemed like a kind parent to us."

One daily privilege and pleasure was a visit to his mother. All who knew Sarah Rowntree, could endorse her grand-daughter's description of

"her loving and gracious personality, the good judgment which made her counsel sought and valued by her children and friends, and the gentleness which made her great."

The late Isaac Brown, of Kendal, formerly Principal of the Flounders College, whose inspiring influence and ministry many will remember, wrote at a later period of Sarah Rowntree's life as "one of the purest and holiest" he had known.

"None," he said, "can have been long in her company without being sensible of the nearness of her walk with her Lord, and of her intercourse with Him."

"Nor can I ever forget," he added, "that it was when enjoying, with other dear friends, the hospitality of her home, that in early wakeful hours, it was clearly given to me that I was that morning, for the first time in meeting, to witness to the redeeming work of the Lord Jesus."

Through ten years of the loneliness of widowhood Sarah Rowntree had drunk deeply from heavenly springs of strength and comfort, and her heart went out to her friends, and especially to the sick and lonely, in loving desires for their encouragement, and for the deepening and enrichment of their spiritual life. She wished to come into closer touch and fellowship with them individually, and to show something of the sympathy she felt by visiting them in their homes. About the same time her son

had the impression that a similar service, but of a more extended scope, was required of him. He felt that something more was called for than public and congregational ministry, something more personal and individual, and it was a great help and satisfaction, to mother and son, to believe that a part, at least, of this service might be undertaken jointly. Both felt strongly the supreme need for absolute loyalty and self-dedication, of the spirit which longs to give "the utmost for the highest" on the part of all who would be true followers of Christ, and do His work in the world. Sarah Rowntree's character and experience had specially qualified her to give winning and encouraging expression to this feeling, and to dwell upon the privilege of service for others, even should it be at times a service of suffering. They were warmly encouraged by their own Monthly Meeting, held on March 10th, 1869, to fulfil this mission, which took a year to accomplish. Sarah Rowntree joined in the visits paid to Friends in York, which were of "a social as well as of a religious character."

Her son visited all the families of Friends in the Monthly Meeting, paying over 200 visits, which were most warmly and kindly received, and in addition he held several specially arranged meetings. He always felt afterwards that he could understand much better than before the special needs of those to whom he was so often called to minister.

John S. Rowntree was the more able to enter into sympathy with the lives of others to whom he was called to speak through his own experience of a happy home life, its joys and cares and responsibilities.

He had an almost unconscious power of rule, and it was a rule of love. One of his daughters writes, "His word was always law and from our earliest years there was never any thought of disputing it. When we were children, a very few words of disapproval from him were instantly effective. He hardly ever used strong language about anything, and this habitual restraint gave added force to what he said."

His wife was his faithful helper in everything, sharing his thoughts and furthering his plans. Even more than he realised

at the time, he depended upon her unfailing sympathy and practical judgment.

Everywhere in her home the warmth and sunshine of the mother's love was felt, the sunshine which helps all best things to grow. It was the influence of a love as strong as it was tender, as winning in its methods as it was rich in practical wisdom.

Sundays brought special privileges. There was "a Sunday cupboard" in the drawing-room, full of delightful things, stories, pictures and games, even toys for the very little ones, which were never brought out on any other occasion, and however full of engagements week-days might be the children looked forward to good times and happy leisure with their parents on Sundays when visitors often came to add to the enjoyment of the day.

Meal times were delightfully bright and happy, and the children were encouraged to join in the conversation. Their father had known what it was, as a boy at school, to submit to enforced silence at meals, and had not found the practice tended to lessen his early shyness about entering into ordinary conversation, though—strange to say—books were allowed, and he solaced himself by reading through Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* during the silent dinner hour.

No one dreamed of reading books at his table! As a rule there was too much to talk about. Should conversation flag, however, he would suddenly ask a child an unexpected question, perhaps about something of which the child knew nothing whatever. But it was an understood thing that some sort of a reply must be made, and bright encouragement, or merry laughter, would greet any honest attempt at an answer. For John S. Rowntree had one point of agreement with his polar opposite—Gilbert Chesterton. He believed that "what is worth doing at all is worth doing badly"—at first. In their turn, of course, the children would demand and receive an answer to satisfy their newly-awakened interest or curiosity.

In the summer time the garden was an unfailing source of pleasure, and the habits of the various animals kept were as real an interest to the father as to the children.

One little child was for several years much of an invalid, claiming his mother's tenderest care and thought, and bringing into the lives of the other children an unconscious training in considerateness and sympathy.

On his account, specially, the busy mother rejoiced in the acquisition of a pony phaeton, and for several years shew as in the habit of driving the little ones out herself, to their great enjoyment and also her own.

With the suddenness of an earthquake the happy home life was shattered. In July, 1875, Elizabeth H. Rowntree died from the effects of a carriage accident at Ingleton. With his eight children, the father found himself bereft, and in the midst of surrounding beauty and the bright summer sunshine he was plunged into dark depths of sorrow and desolation.

Human sympathy did what it could. It poured in from all sides, from fellow-citizens, and many who were almost unknown to him, as well as from his personal friends, and those who were most near and dear ; and to the end of his life he remembered it with thankfulness. His mother's tender comprehending sympathy was a wonderful strength and stay both to him and to his elder daughters.

But as each day brought an added realisation of change and loss, felt with such keenness, also, on his children's account, his sensitive heart was torn not with grief only, but with the pangs of a questioning which tested the very foundations of his faith.

The dark mystery of sorrow seemed to fold him round and once more the old question arose, *Why* are sorrow and suffering permitted ? His heart cried out for an answer—not for the first time only. There had been periods when the sorrows of others had forced the question home before. In 1869, he had written to one of his friends :—

"I have known what it was for the mysteries of the divine government to press upon me by day and by night in a way I cannot express."

Again and again the question *Why* ? would arise within him.

Was it for his personal discipline ? he asked, and might have added, like Lowell in a like bereavement—

> " How was I worthy so divine a loss ?
> Deepening my midnights, kindling all my morns ;
> Why waste such precious wood to make my cross ;
> Such far-sought roses for my crown of thorns ? "

No ! Such a solution, he felt, whatever partial truth there might be in it, was miserably inadequate. " No man liveth to himself," or suffers for himself alone. There must be a larger solution than any which concerns himself only. There came to him a fuller grasp of the meaning of the Divine self-sacrifice, a new sense of the Love which " spared not his own Son but delivered him up for us all," and he felt that for man also suffering may be the service to which he is called, and in some unknown way beyond his power to understand, others must be the richer through it.

For, though no answer came to the question " Why ? " there came something better—an assurance that whatever the reason might be, Love lay behind it, that Love, only Love was ordering his path, and caring for him and his ; and he arose from the depths to share with others the comfort he had found.

A cousin writes :—

> " It was some time after this great bereavement before his voice was again heard in the ministry. He rose first with the question of the prisoner in Machaerus, ' Art thou he that shall come, or look we for another ? ' It so happened that John Bright was in the meeting that Sunday morning. In coming away he said to a friend, ' I knew that was what he must have been going through.' "

Many will recall the added power that seemed to go with his words after this time, and the intensity of feeling with which he would speak, as one who had proved it, of " everlasting consolation," through " our Lord Jesus Christ Himself," or dwell upon the question—and its answer—" Lord, to whom shall we go ? *Thou* hast the words of eternal life."

But even so, there still were times when natural sorrow would have its way. He was very human, and could not always rise

above it, nor was he able to assume a cheerfulness he did not feel. A constitutional lack of natural buoyancy and elasticity of spirit, along with the effects of the severe nervous shock of his tragic loss, had probably much to do with his depression at times. But he would not let it hinder his work. His quickened sympathies went out towards others in bereavement, and he was always ready to show it. For he realised increasingly and would urge upon his hearers, that experience of sorrow or suffering brings with it a new stewardship—that there is no sadder thing in life than a wasted sorrow.

Probably few ministers amongst Friends have attended funerals more often than he did, and many will never forget his living words of help on these occasions. In a letter dated from Harrogate, September, 1876, it is stated that John S. Rowntree had come over to attend a funeral, the third that week, on successive days, at which he had been present, in different parts of the country. The writer felt that through his own great sorrow he had "gained much in depth of power to comfort."

It was a very bracing kind of comfort, though so tenderly and sympathetically given. It dwelt upon the gain of loss, the "treasures of darkness" to be found in the depths,—the service of suffering, and the added power of ministry to others that it might bring; and its influence was to draw away from thoughts of self and personal loss, to a sense of the immense need and sorrow of the world around us, and the blessed privilege of being able in any way to minister to this need.

John S. Rowntree's early ministry was that of a young man, and naturally it made a special appeal to other young men. Whilst from the first it had the power which comes from deep conviction, it was fresh and unconventional, and perfectly natural and human. It was full of illustration drawn from his own observation, reading and thought in a way which at that time was unusual amongst Friends.

One who often heard him in these early years, says:—

"John S. Rowntree touched very many of us at several points in our lives; but those who were boys and young men at York in

the early years of his exercise of the ministry would probably all agree that this had been his most potent influence for good upon their modes of thought and upon their lives.

"I do not think that I could better express the relationship of his ministry to that generally current in the day of which I speak, than by comparing it with the poetry of Wordsworth in its relationship to the poetry of the immediately preceding time. For it was direct, full of human interest, and appealed to the head as well as to the heart. Several of his addresses have come back to mind within the last few days with something of the force with which they were spoken."

Others can say just the same. For though John S. Rowntree's sermons were not always perfect in their delivery, though they were often marked by a slight hesitation, and were not free from mannerisms, yet there was a compelling power, a strength of grip in them which took such hold of the minds of some who heard, that it has been impossible to forget them.

A friend recalls a sermon he heard as a schoolboy in York, between 1861 and 1863. He writes :—

"I think he then spoke from the side of the Meeting-house. His sermons were unusual in character and eminently practical. My chief recollection is of one on commercial integrity.* It must have required some courage I think, at that date, for a young man in a large and critical meeting to handle unusual topics in this way."

After he was "recorded" in 1864, he usually sat in the ministers' gallery. There he faced the two great Schools of boys and girls who, to him, represented the future of the Society of Friends, and their presence was a continual appeal and inspiration.

There was a sense of living reality about his sermons. They kept close to the facts of life, making it clear that spiritual truth is no mere assertion, that it is verified in human history and experience. They were marked by sobriety of thought and feeling. He climbed his heights step by step, just as most of us

* Another hearer remembers this sermon, and that one point dwelt on was the importance of sending in true Income Tax returns.

must do: he was not borne to their summits by any sudden flight of glorious intuition.

His preaching set forth Christianity as an inward life—a life of trust in Christ and loyalty to Him as the revelation of the Father, and Redeemer of men.

This conception of religion as inward and spiritual, as distinct from the rites and forms in which it has been embodied, and from its verbal wrappings in theological formulas, kept him from dwelling much on abstract doctrines and definitions. He had too strong a sense of their partial and changing nature. To him Truth was so vast, so many-sided, that no theological creed could possibly express it fully. He would grasp the essential, the innermost spirit of a doctrine, and present this as simply and livingly as he could. His aim was to preach Christ Himself, not any theory about Him.

His sermons were distinguished not only by their reality but by their wide outlook. When he spoke of the present, the sense of both past and future seemed always with him. "Loving those roots that feed us from the past," he listened to "the voice of days of old and days to be," to use words he once quoted. He would urge upon his hearers that their experiences, their difficulties and temptations, their sorrows and their joys were no new thing. They had come in like manner, to others before them, right down the ages, and as the Eternal Father had cared for, guided and disciplined His children in the past, so He is doing and will do, now, and in days to come. He was continually drawing lessons of warning, of guidance and of hope from the history of the past: and as his hearers listened there would often come a sense as of being out in the open air, in wide spaces of time and thought, and life would seem more full of high meaning and great possibilities.

"If every book is good to read which puts us in a working mood," the sermon must be good to listen to which stimulates the desire to act on its practical guidance and to follow the ideal it upholds; and this stimulus John S. Rowntree's sermons would often bring to those who heard them.

Again, his sermons were distinguished by their completeness. In the first place the subject was dealt with in a strikingly complete way in its varied aspects ; and then its practical application to very differing conditions, in age, circumstance and experience, was presented with equal completeness. He seemed to have an unusual sense of the needs and difficulties, the temptations and the opportunities of all,—of the young, the middle-aged and the old, and would speak to each in turn. One outcome of his completeness of sympathy, of his sense of oneness with others in life and service, was his habit of happy reference to what had been said by previous speakers in the meeting. If addresses had seemed disconnected he would discover and bring out some underlying unity, and so, either in preaching or in prayer, draw the vocal service of the meeting into a beautiful harmony.

Another way in which his completeness of sympathy was often shown was in the honour which he rendered to all hidden and humble service. He had an immense sense of the value of this, and often spoke of it with a reverence which was full of encouragement and stimulus. He would dwell on the thought that

> " The healing of the world
> Is in its nameless saints ; "

or he would quote the concluding words of *Middlemarch*—

> " The growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts ; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs."

And finally, the completeness of his sermons was shown in their faithfulness. His words were searching and convicting as well as encouraging and stimulating. Probably many a hearer might have said,

> " He would send me home detected in my inmost infirmities, unmasked to myself, humbled with the conviction of sin and inspired with the assurance of victory."

Sometimes he would dwell on specific duties, and present true ideals of thought and speech and conduct. To make his meaning unmistakable he would occasionally give an example of an exact contrast to the ideal he was setting forth, but it was quite possible for him to quote an unsatisfactory or queer expression without distracting the attention, even of his younger hearers, from the main point of his address; or detracting from the solemnity befitting the occasion.

He would quote proverbs, too, effectively. A friend recalls an interesting example of this:—

"Perhaps no address of his ever helped me so much as one on how to take failures. I don't remember his text—perhaps he hadn't one—but he quoted the proverb: 'One for the worm and one for the crow, one to perish and one to grow.' The farmer found it so. His seeds did not all come up, and he planted accordingly. In wild nature it was even more so. The crow that we saw took one, and the worm that we did not see took another, but taking the average of all faithful sowing, the fourth came up. The wayside may take one, and the rock another, and the briars another, yet some will fall on good ground, and bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundred-fold. If one seed does not come up, plant another. To those who go on doing what God tells them there is no real failure. They may not see success, but success is none the less sure.

"'He always wins who sides with God.' I am not sure that he quoted the words, but he left the thought and of course I have not given his words, only my recollections."

Often some passing incident would form the starting-point of his sermon. One race week in York he rose with the words "There shall be upon the bells of the horses holiness unto the Lord," instantly securing the expectant attention of his younger hearers, and proceeding to show how it is the spirit in which anything is done which makes it beautiful and holy, or the reverse, and dwelling on the warning lessons to be learned from the degeneration in practices, innocent or even noble in their origin, when a profane or worldly spirit has taken hold of them.

"Nothing was too homely or commonplace," says *The British Friend*, "to be worked up into illuminating and comforting thoughts; a chance conversation overheard in the street, the quiet caused

by a sudden fall of snow, the passing conditions of the social and political world. Few preachers have manifested an equal gift for drawing spiritual lessons, without undue straining, from outward facts. This unconventional character caused his ministry to be remembered when much else passed altogether into oblivion."

One who heard him often says his sermons were

"always so humble in their tone. He never hammered in what he wanted to impress on the mind, he was never dictatorial."

Another friend writes:—

"John S. Rowntree is one of those whose strongly uttered convictions in our Meeting in regard to the present power of the Risen Christ, and perhaps even more still as to the certain hope of a blessed life beyond this earthly one have done much in past years to confirm my own faith when it was not so firmly established on the Rock as it is to-day.

"I should like to say how much I have been helped by his sermons in Meeting. He appealed to me as few, in fact as none of the older generation of Friends did. I suppose it was because of his great sympathy with younger men. He seemed to 'keep the young generations in hail,' and didn't appear to be frightened as so many men of his years were, at their difficulties. If one spoke in his presence one felt that he was sympathising with one and encouraging one all the time.

"He made young men feel that he discriminated between truth ascertained, and truth merely asserted, and drew them to him instead of repelling them, as the dogmatist does and must ever do with thoughtful minds. They saw that he did not advocate blind faith, but one which appealed both to the understanding and the heart."

Such a ministry as his would have been impossible without much careful thought and preparation. He had a strong sense of the need for this, the need, not of prepared sermons, but of preparation of heart and mind for the ministry, through constant study of Scripture, and the endeavour, by prayerful thought and meditation, to grasp its inmost meaning. He would dwell long and earnestly on any passage that had specially struck him, conversing with others about it, and noting how it harmonised with human experience in the past, and the result would appear in some exposition, always with a practical bearing on the needs of the day.

"Such," says one of his hearers, "was a sermon I well remember on Colossians iii. 1-2: 'If then ye were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God. Set your mind on the things that are above;' (R.V.) when words so familiar, that one had only a vague idea of their meaning, were lit up as many conditions were spoken to, and it was explained what would be meant to each by 'seeking first the things that are above.' It was wonderfully feeding, and this is only one example of what was a frequent experience."

He could not have spoken to so "many conditions" had he not been able to enter as fully, with glad sympathy, into the joys of others, as to feel with them in their sorrows. He was a welcome guest at weddings, and some of his addresses on these occasions are still recalled for the power and beauty of the ideal he set forth.

Another way in which John S. Rowntree served the Society of Friends during these years was by his editorship of *The Friend*, which he had undertaken at the beginning of 1875.

Perhaps it was well for him during the saddened and lonely evenings when his older children were away at school, that he was compelled to devote his attention to this work, and give guiding thought to the affairs of the Society. He would occasionally finish up an editorial with some felicitous and effective quotation which would remain in the reader's memory long after the rest of the article was forgotten. In reference to some dismal prediction that the Society of Friends was on its way to speedy extinction he voiced the rejoinder it should be able to give, in the words of Nehemiah—"I am doing a great work so that I cannot come down. Why should the work cease?"

Joshua Rowntree, who had kindly helped at a time of special strain, writes:—

"He was a delightful Editor to work with, always taking wide views from the high levels on which his mind invariably worked, and yet with strong convictions and a clear policy before him—no littleness.

"My recollections are that he carried *The Friend* through very evenly. He rather liked writing leaders and they were and are always worth reading."

A new hope and happiness came into John S. Rowntree's life and home through his marriage, in 1878, to Helen Doncaster, a cousin and intimate friend of the late Elizabeth H. Rowntree, and one who had known and loved her children from their infancy. Again it was given him to feel the joy and power of fellowship with a true-hearted and loving wife, well qualified to enter with him into widening paths of public service, and strong to sustain and uphold in every time of trial.

In the great peace which came to him in his marriage, the sorrow of the past and the joy of the present seemed to blend in a wonderful harmony. He was delighted to find some lines by Whittier, which exactly expressed his feeling :—

> "'And, as in summer's northern night,
> The evening and the dawn unite,
> The sunset hues of Time blend with the soul's new morning.'

The blended beauty of the polar midnight sky, where sunset and dawn meet."

In the year 1879, the Jubilee of the Bootham School was celebrated, and John S. Rowntree wrote a sketch of its history for the occasion.*

Later in the year, on June 27th, Ackworth School commemorated its centenary, and again in honour of the event he read a lively sketch of the history of Ackworth School.† It was rich in facts and reminiscences on which he made some interesting comments.

It was like him to connect, as he did, the absence of vacations in the early years of the School with the practice at the same period of disownment for marrying out of the Society, as both belonging to " the same class of mistakes," and due to " a forgetfulness of the place of the affections."

The quiet tenor of his ordinary life was unexpectedly broken in upon the following year, when his fellow-citizens wished him to

* See chapter ix.

† See chapter viii.

fill the office of Lord Mayor, chiefly in order that he might represent them on the approaching visit of the British Association, which had held its first meeting in York in 1831, and was expected to celebrate its Jubilee there. Although he had had no previous experience, either as Councillor or Alderman, he felt it would be missing an opportunity of usefulness were he to refuse to let himself be nominated, but he made what he imagined would be a discouraging announcement—that if elected he would not offer wine to his guests, nor would he feel able to entertain them in the costly manner of many of his predecessors. Nevertheless he was unanimously elected.

His own feeling at this time is described in a letter written in reply to one from Isaac Robson, dated 18. xi. 1880. John S. Rowntree said :—

"It has been and still is a most surprising thing that so unlooked-for an appointment has come to me. As I have said to many, I could not have crossed the street to put myself in the way of this office, but when entirely unsought it was offered and pressed on me as a duty, and I was also told I might discharge it in my own way, I felt and still feel it would have been a great responsibility to decline.

"I looked carefully at the question of the ministry to which thou refers. I expect that I may take very little vocal part in meetings during the time I am Mayor, and felt comfortable in looking towards this probability. For one reason I never have felt the ministry my special vocation in the way in which it is the calling of some of one's friends, and in the second place I felt sure there would be opportunities for the presentation of Christian truth amongst persons not Friends so frequently, that one only longed to have far more ability to occupy with them aright than I possess. I have this week opened a bazaar for the Presbyterians, and taken the chair at a Congregational Chapel, speaking at some length on both occasions, I think I may say under as much feeling of responsibility as if it had been in our meeting house.

"We have felt and still feel the prospect of the whole undertaking exceedingly formidable. I think we can, however, sincerely say we have tried to do what was right—whether we have succeeded or not is another matter—and now wish to take one day at once trusting for the daily renewal of wisdom, watchfulness and courage according to our needs."

As this letter shows, he accepted the position as an opportunity for wider service, and as a vantage ground for upholding the standard of what he believed to be the truth.

His large knowledge of the local history of York, its public sites and buildings, etc., was often drawn upon in his public addresses, much to the interest of his audience.*

He honoured his position by the way in which he filled it, with simple dignity and sincerity. He was mindful of its courtesies, but his manner of observance kept them from becoming merely formal or conventional.

The most interesting public function of the year was the visit of the British Association when, on behalf of the city, he welcomed its guests with a gracious cordiality and dignity befitting the occasion. His speech came after the opening address by the President, Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury); and was thus summarised in the local press:—

"The Lord Mayor said the kindness of the Council of that Association permitted him to move a vote of thanks to their President for the excellent address to which they had just listened, but before doing so he would gladly avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded to speak on behalf of his fellow-citizens, and to offer to that distinguished Association their most cordial welcome. (Cheers). As he looked over that great assembly his thoughts reverted to some of the many gatherings of men which had taken place in this city during the long annals of its history—to military gatherings, to Parliamentary gatherings, to political, religious, and philanthropic gatherings—but he thought he might venture to say that during all that long time there had hardly ever, if ever, been an occasion on which a more unanimous welcome had been accorded by every section of the city than had been accorded to the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

"It would be needless for him to speak many words on the welcome they wished to give, for it would be far better that the citizens in the coming days should attest the reality of this welcome by their acts than that he should attempt to emphasise it by many words. Three centuries had passed since Shakespeare told the world of the hearty and simple words in which, of old time, it was customary for kings to be welcomed to this city. It was not his duty that night

* See chapter xi.

to welcome visitors who were royal by the accident of birth; but he felt that he stood in the presence of those who were princes in the domain of Science; and he could not possibly do better than adapt Queen Margaret's words, and say to them, 'Welcome, my lords, to this brave town of York.' Whilst saying this, he hoped he would be allowed to express his regret—a regret that would be shared by all—at the absence of the American Ambassador. The music of Mr. Lowell's verse, and the nobility of sentiment expressed in it, had made him friends wherever the English tongue was spoken; and his presence there had been looked forward to with peculiar interest, though his eminence was rather in literature than in science. The American citizens who were present might be assured that that meeting, assembled in old York, sympathised hardly less with them in the calamity that had overtaken their President,* and which was the cause of the absence of their Ambassador, than if they were surrounded by their fellow-countrymen in the city of New York itself.

"With respect to the able address of their President, he would only like to say, in passing, that as they heard his reference to the variations that had been noticed in the star Algol in Medusa, it would be interesting to his fellow-citizens to be reminded that, if he was not mistaken, it was by one of their citizens, who died at the early age of twenty-two, that those variations were first observed, and on account of which he received the gold medal of the Royal Society when he was only eighteen years of age.† And there was one further thought that had occurred as they listened to that masterly survey of the progress of the empire of science in the fifty years since that Association first met in the Theatre of the adjoining Museum. He remembered that watchword which a dying Emperor, some seventeen hundred years ago, sent from his death-bed in this city to the regiments—that single word, "Laboremus." He was speaking of the ceaseless labour by which the law was maintained over the broad field of the Roman Empire. And as they passed from subject to subject that evening, he had felt that it was by ceaseless labour that the frontier of the empire of science had been successfully advanced, and that it would be by the maintenance of the same labour that it would be further advanced in the future."

* President Garfield, who was assassinated 2nd July and died 19th September, 1881.

† John Goodricke of York, a grandson of Sir John Goodricke of Ribston Hall. "The period and law" of Algol, "the demon star" of the Arabs, were discovered by him in 1782. He observed the star in York every fine night, from December till May. Its variability is said to have been noticed first in 1669, but was "rediscovered" by Goodricke. It was the Copley Medal he received.

The duty of presiding over meetings and gatherings of very varied character was one for which he was well fitted by his power of seeing things from the point of view of others, his fairness, and his tact. Perhaps there was no audience to whom he spoke more freely of his own feelings in entering upon office than the members of the Adult School, who made a presentation to the Lord Mayor and Sheriff (Mr. Richard Thompson, also a Friend and a teacher in the Adult School), at the close of their year of office, a time of pleasant and helpful co-operation. Some one had referred to what John S. Rowntree had said at the beginning of their official year, and he is reported to have remarked that

"He was not quite sure what he did say, but he knew that there was one verse of Scripture which was very much before his mind at the time, that 'Better is the end of a thing than the beginning thereof,' wondering whether that would be what he should still feel if he came safely to the 9th November, 1881. And one way in which he felt the end of the year to be better than the beginning of it was through the many valued acquaintances that he had made, and the proofs that had been afforded him of the help and friendship of men and women of whom he was before ignorant, in every class of society. He was aware, in looking over the year that was past, that he had made many mistakes, and he doubted not that he had made many of which he was not aware. For the degree of success, if that were a right word, with which he had been enabled to discharge the duties that had devolved upon him, he should put first of earthly helps his beloved wife the Lady Mayoress, and then the members of his own family, and after that the support which he had received from men and women through all strata of society. . . . He hoped that the circumstances of his connection with the municipal life in York would deepen in the minds of the members of the Adult School the importance of that municipal life. There was no class of the community more interested in the maintenance of a right municipal life than were the artizans, so many of whom were members of that Adult School. There was no class in the city more in touch with its health conditions. There was now no property test that need prevent an artizan from being elected to the City Council. That had occurred in some places. The difficulty was that it would be hard for most working men to attend the meetings of the Council and its committees, held as they were in the morning and afternoon, but if that difficulty could be got over, he for one should be delighted if some of the intelligent working men of this city could

be elected members of the City Council.* Their practical acquaintance with much of the work that came before the Council would be of great value."

The absorptions of office did not make him forgetful of ordinary claims, or less ready to enter into sympathy with the feelings of others. In all the press of Christmas engagements at the Mansion House he found time to write a tender letter to a friend to whom he knew Christmas was sure to bring an added sense of change and loss.

During John S. Rowntree's remaining six years of office on the City Council, he gave, as Chairman of the Finance Committee, a large amount of time and thought to disentangling the City finances and placing them on a more satisfactory footing. He was diligent also in the discharge of his duties as a City Magistrate. His perfect fairness, his care that no one accused of an offence should be convicted, even were it morally certain that he were guilty, except upon adequate and unquestionable evidence, are the traits which are best remembered now in connection with his work on the bench.

He was at all times ready to help anything likely to promote the true interests of his city. He took an active share in the movement for starting the Free Library, and gave his help in choosing and supplying books for it, retaining his position on the Free Library Committee for many years after he had ceased to be a member of the City Council.

In early life he was appointed one of the Charity Trustees for the City of York, and it was a pleasure to him to take his share in the administration of the local charities which came under the control of the Trustees.

In 1883 the heavy shadow of family bereavement came again upon his home. His eldest son died after a sad and painful illness of nearly a year's duration. He was a schoolboy, of quiet disposition, and an affectionate, trustful nature. As the

* Since these words were spoken several Adult School members have been elected to the City Council. Its meetings are now held in the evening.

father watched the gradual fading of his beloved son, his sense of the mystery of life grew deeper, and his own health suffered from the strain and sorrow, but through all his sadness his grief was "stayed in peace with God and man." In this year, too, he lost his youngest brother, Henry Isaac Rowntree, the first of the family to be connected with what is now known as the York Cocoa Works, an energetic worker for Liberalism and for Temperance, and gifted with a keen sense of humour. Two young nieces were also called to their heavenly home; events which brought him into keenest sympathy with other mourners. Again he proved that whilst sorrow reveals, like nothing else, the depths of human need, it may also become a great revealer of "the Supplier of all need;" and in his own great loss the desire to bring hope and comfort to others was a sustaining strength and inspiration.

He would dwell sometimes, in his ministry, on the words:—"I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake"—pointing out that to the Christian the call to suffer is always a call to suffer for Christ—though he may not see how—and he would urge that for each and all, in any condition, "where there is the willingness to suffer for His name's sake, probably there is more of gain and blessing in this state than can come in any other."

Although there was a conservative element in his temperament which led him to desire the preservation of what was best in the past, he was a true and outspoken Liberal in his politics.

He rejoiced in the Liberal victories in the election of 1885-6, but with mental reservations about one or two of his friends who seemed to him so specially qualified for difficult and delicate lines of service in other spheres, that he almost grudged them to the House of Commons. To one of these he wrote:—

"July, 1886.

"To be a Member of Parliament is for some men a great vocation. I was struck with this a few months ago when re-reading Sir James Stephen on William Wilberforce. He might as truly have said in his letters 'called to be a Member of Parliament,' as Paul wrote 'called to be an Apostle,' or as he reminded his correspondents they

were 'called to be saints.' When you agreed to stand we felt sure you felt satisfied in your own mind, and that being so, we of course are much pleased the people have made so good a choice. On the other hand if you had declined to stand, or had not been elected I could as easily have felt such an issue a right one. But in the last resort no one can judge of these things except the person himself. I have strongly felt this myself at least three times in the last six years, when I arrived at an affirmative decision as regards the Magistracy, the Lord Mayoralty, and a negative one as regards Parliament. Your new position will have many and great interests as well as many anxieties and disappointments, involving, to anyone who enters Parliament with a conscience, much exercise of spirit. In this engagement, as in all others, as thy day so may thy strength be."

The Member of Parliament to whom this unusual letter of congratulation was written says :—

"I remember thinking it was like the remark of one of our Adult Scholars who wondered why I should descend from the B. Class to the House of Commons!"

In one of his pamphlets, which still has a present-day message for Friends, John S. Rowntree deals with the same question. He wrote :—

"Joseph John Gurney has left an account of his questioning whether he should not have offered himself as a candidate for the representation of Norwich. We may be glad he did not do so. It is almost certain he would have been far less useful in Parliament than as a Minister amongst Friends, and a Christian philanthropist. May we not go further and say that it is rarely a desirable thing for a Christian Minister to enter Parliament? For the vast majority of men the duties of either vocation are greater than they have strength and grace for, without attempting to combine the two. To some men Christ's words carry a deep significance—'Let the dead bury their dead: but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God.'"*

John S. Rowntree had a deep sense of the great service Friends may render to their country, by taking a more active part in its legislature, and he wished that more American Friends were able to feel the call to such work,† but, as the foregoing letter shows, he felt strongly that a call to the ministry should be looked upon as a still higher vocation.

* Page 233. See also p. 404. † Page 233.

His sense of the supreme claim upon a man which such a ca may constitute would seem to have grown much deeper in the years which had passed since he wrote to Isaac Robson on the subject, but even in that letter his underlying feeling appears to have been that he was offered the opportunity of a new and wider sphere of ministry—and that for this he might rightly be liberated for a time, if necessary, from its more ordinary course.

In this age of changing thought, of searching inquiry into the grounds of every Christian belief, and of hotly debated questions of Biblical criticism, John S. Rowntree's attitude was that of hope of ultimate gain from all investigation and inquiry, and of quiet confidence in the power of Truth to hold its own, and to commend itself to the mind and reason as well as to the heart and conscience of men.

In this faith he met disturbing questions ; and when others declared themselves unable to accept time-honoured presentations of Christian doctrine he recognised that their need was often the re-statement of an old truth in terms which they could better understand and make their own. His sense of the need both for a continually enlarging conception of essential truth, and for a clearing away of the misconceptions and errors which are so apt to gather round it, led him into much sympathy with those who were feeling after a larger, fuller understanding of truth than they had yet attained.

It was because his own hold on the abiding verities remained sure and unshaken, that he could listen with an open mind to the objections and questionings of others. If honestly urged they did not shock him ; and if they led on to controversy, he would never argue for the sake of victory, only in hope that the truth might be presented in a fuller light.

One of his friends writes :—

" Some might have thought him austere and grave, but as they came really to know him, the youngest would find that his tender loving spirit was always ready to give an attentive hearing to doubts and difficulties : no fear of encountering coldness or dogmatism ! The search for truth in a devout spirit was always sacred in his eyes,

and was met with sympathy and appreciation, however conclusions might differ. I remember especially a long conversation upon a question of Biblical criticism in which I had ventured to differ from his view of the matter, suggesting with some diffidence that an argument he had advanced really told more against than in favour of his position : he thought for a moment and then at once acknowledged it might be so."

But however necessary or inevitable this phase of questioning and criticism might be, and however good in its ultimate results, its immediate effect in silencing some who had been or might be called to the ministry caused him keen concern and anxiety.

For he had a profound sense of the absolute necessity for the welfare of any Christian Church, of a true and living ministry. He used to say there was " no evidence of any Friends' congregation having flourished for any considerable length of time, or having efficiently fulfilled the objects of Church fellowship, in the absence of a living Gospel Ministry."

John S. Rowntree believed that there has been amongst Friends generally, an inadequate sense of the vital importance of this gift, and of the need, amongst those called to its exercise, of more devotion to the work ; the need of more who should regard it as the first claim upon their lives, one to which other things must, if necessary, give way.

It seemed to him that to answer nobly to so high a call, there should surely be a willingness and even a joyful readiness, to make many sacrifices for it.

The silent ponderings of many years found expression later in an impressive address at the Yearly Meeting of 1902, of which an abridged report follows :—

" The extension of First-day School work, and the rise and continued progress of the great Foreign Mission work, were two very remarkable developments of Church life, for which we had occasion to be abundantly thankful. We might perhaps look upon the Foreign Mission work of the Society, as a growth of the spiritual gift of the evangelist in foreign lands ; and the extension of the First-day School work as an extension of the spiritual gift of teaching at home. The Church was liable to be stronger

in certain gifts at one time than at others, and sometimes to over-estimate other gifts. The Church in Corinth, when the Apostle wrote to it, was over-estimating the gift of tongues, and under-estimating the gift of prophecy. He did not know if that was our condition at the present time, but the gift of prophecy would seem to be either less poured out, or less accepted and developed amongst us than at a former period. Did not that bring us back to the consideration whether it was in the Divine appointment that the gift of prophecy should continue in the Church, and whether up to the present time its continuance and development had not been found constantly associated with the progress and growth and vitality of the Churches ? If it were allowed to fall into disuse, or were under-estimated, and full opportunity not given for its development, weakness was sure to follow. They had heard of the condition of many small and some decaying meetings, and had been begged not to think sentimentally of this, but rather to have their thoughts directed towards the great populations and the extension of the work of the Society amongst them. Did we not need to do both ? It did not seem to him a merely sentimental thought that we should be greatly interested in these small meetings, with their long historical associations going back to successive generations of honoured and saintly men and women. On the other hand, it was undoubtedly true that the early triumphs of Christianity were in the large centres of population, and it was good for us to see if we had strength to meet the needs of these at the present time. But be it one or the other, was not the growth and strengthening of these congregations intimately associated with recognition of and belief in the gift of prophecy in the Church ? He felt that we needed to press upon Friends the place of this gift of prophecy. It was not difficult to see from the past history of the Church who were the people who were most largely commissioned by God for the extension of His Kingdom, and also afterwards for the building up of His Church. They were very largely young people under thirty years of age. When the Society of Friends first found its lodgment in London, in the early days of the Commonwealth, the leader of the band of preachers who came here was only thirty years of age, and the men who did the greater part of the work, like Edward Burrough and others, were less than that. At the present time, our Friends in the station of recorded minister were, to a large extent, a very aged body. In his Quarterly Meeting there were about fifty-five recorded ministers, several above seventy years of age, the majority being over sixty, and those below thirty were extremely few. Probably that state of things was testified to by the state of the benches behind him now, which differed so much from the time he remembered, when they were crowded from end to end. In such a case the Lord Him-

self had indicated what was the duty of the Church. Pray to your Father, who is the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into the harvest. It would be a great mistake to think that by 'praying' the Lord meant merely the use of words of supplication to God. He knew that if the minds of His people were turned towards prayer, the way in which they might fulfil that which the Spirit of Truth prompted would open out before them. There was much prayer, when the concern for the Foreign Mission work arose amongst us, that labourers might be sent out; then there came gradually an understanding as to a simple method of machinery; after that the labourers came forward, and now there were seventy or eighty missionaries who had been sent out by this Society, and they had found a great number of other labourers, and we knew how great was the work. Was not the same thing needed in the Home Mission work? We had empty meeting-houses. Should we not endeavour to bring about a change by prayer in regard to that? We wanted labourers from amongst the young men and women who might feel called to the work of the evangelist. In the reign of Queen Anne, a certain young man set out from the North to travel in the ministry, possessing at the time scarcely £50, and one of the first things he did was to buy a horse. That was the beginning of a life-long ministry. The first thing for a home missionary now was not to buy a horse; but we wanted the same devotion to labour in the work. We needed to pray, and to seek an opportunity for the exercise of the gifts of young men and women. In the report from one Quarterly Meeting there was a reference to some of the causes that were preventing the more educated and cultivated young people from giving themselves to the service of God, or at least to the more distinctively religious work. No doubt influences had prevailed in the spirit of the world and the lack of entire dedication to God. But this report served to show further that amongst those who were spiritually qualified, and with a love for Christ, certain other influences were preventing them from giving themselves to the work of the Christian ministry. No doubt some of these causes were deep and beyond our power to remedy; they were partially connected with the great changes of thought that there had been in the world and in all the Protestant Churches in the last forty or fifty years. He lately found that the magazine containing Sir Henry Thompson's article on 'The Unknown God' had been lying on one of our library tables for many weeks, and he had wondered what the effect of its perusal had been. He thought it might be a good thing for some to read that article, at any rate for some who had a share in the Christian ministry, for while we did not want to feed our minds on doubt, our prophets must have

some understanding of what those to whom they minister are thinking. Here, at the beginning of the twentieth century, they saw a cultured man, discussing just those subjects that we found discussed with such extraordinary power in the Book of Job. He regretted that sometimes there did not seem to be a disposition to try to understand the position of those who were thus perplexed.

"To do this might bring us into great humiliation; one might feel unable to see the answer to some of these questions; at any rate it would bring one into sympathy with those who do feel that. He trusted that there might be some raised up who would feel it their duty to give their minds and thoughts and spiritual exercise to these things, so that they might have grace to declare to the cultured and educated the unknown God whom they were ignorantly worshipping. As to practical dealing with weak congregations, of course one did not want to do anything to lessen their sense of responsibility; and it was interesting to see sometimes how, when that sense of responsibility had come, in a meeting that had been dying out, its work and service had been greatly blessed and owned. Forty years ago, in a certain meeting in Yorkshire, it was proposed to sell Friends' property; and now in that meeting, from First-day morning to evening, Christian work was going on, which seemed to be largely due to the influence of a very few people, almost of one family. There was not a meeting, he believed, in Yorkshire that was visited by such a number of Friends as was Whitby. Not far from Whitby there was another meeting which had seemed to be expiring, but which had been brought to a fair measure of vitality and a good deal of spiritual life almost entirely through the work of visitors. He believed that for many months the meeting of Kirbymoorside had never failed to be visited by some Friend from a distance. We needed to see the power of an itinerant ministry. It was very largely through such a ministry that the Society of Friends was gathered in the seventeenth century. He was much struck by the fact that when George Keith, who had worked with Friends in this country, turned against them and went to the Colonies, he tried to get an Act passed by which the itinerant work of Friends in the plantations should be prevented. We needed to make way for an itinerant ministry, and to recognise that some persons have a special gift in that direction. There were influences at work which prevented those amongst us who had received the gift of prophecy from developing that gift. There were some, he believed, who, possessing this gift, regarded it as only a subordinate thing in their lives, considering that their first duty was to their business, or to the city council, or other things; but that in a kind of incidental way they might properly speak in First-day meeting sometimes. Surely that was not a right view to take of it.

They heard the suggestion given to Friends yesterday that when on their holidays they should find out picturesque valleys where there were Friends' meetings. That was all right in its way; but surely it was not a right view of the ministry to make it incidental to a holiday, and besides it was a good thing that tired people should have rest, even from preaching. We needed men who would feel that they were separated to the Gospel of Christ. To his mind it was not very difficult to see the way in which the Lord would have His people move. He had given us landmarks in our own experience, and in the history of the whole Church, and of this people in the past. And, following on in the way He would direct us, as we prayed that the Lord would send forth labourers into His harvest, might we see our own part in bringing about the gracious answer to that prayer, and the Lord would abundantly pour out His gifts upon his people, for the honour and extension of His truth in the earth."*

In this address, John S. Rowntree showed his sense of the supreme importance to the Church of the work of its young people, and also the necessity of great sympathy and patience with them whilst still feeling their way through intellectual difficulties.

It was in this spirit that he watched the opening career of his gifted nephew John Wilhelm Rowntree, before it could be seen what his line of action was to prove.

When it became clear that this would be not merely critical but powerfully and vitally re-constructive, John S. Rowntree rejoiced unreservedly, and between the two there came to be a strong bond of union in purpose, and a whole-hearted sympathy. The ends to which the younger prophet devoted his brave and bright young life, giving his message with an arresting freshness of presentation, a wealth of new suggestiveness with regard to plans and methods, and with such rousing and kindling effect upon others—these ends were in closest harmony with those for which the older man had given all his best strength and energy with patient steadfast fidelity, for a generation before, in a service which had become so habitual, so much a part of the accustomed order of things, that perhaps we hardly thought more of it than we think of the rising of the sun each day.

* Some years later these thoughts were expanded in an article on Gospel Ministry, written for the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, and now republished as chapter v. of this volume. Pages 248 and 252 are of special interest in connection with the foregoing address.

One of his friends writes :—

"Some of the work that John S. Rowntree has done for the Society of Friends is well known, but it may be that we hardly recognise how much it owes to his counsel and statesmanship. I believe that he had a large share in making the present forward movement possible, and I am thankful indeed that it was given him in this life to see so large a measure of encouragement for the future in connection with the cause that he loved. It is not everyone who is able to keep alive, as he did, a keen sympathy for movements initiated by a younger generation, and many of us cannot say how much we owe to him in this direction."

In 1892 he was able to carry out a long-felt wish, and to retire altogether from business. This enabled him to give more time to visiting meetings, to research and the preparation of lectures and papers.

In the following year the death of his brother-in-law, George Gillett, was a deep sorrow to him. In a letter written soon afterwards, he said of his brother, "He was one of the most Christ-like men I ever knew."

John S. Rowntree always turned as readily to the small as to the great. He was interested in the little village school at Dringhouses, not far from his home, and, in 1894, consented to act as the first Chairman of its Parish Council.

In the same year, he responded to an invitation, conveyed through Professor Sadler, to lecture on George Fox, at Oxford, to the University Extension students, about a thousand of whom were in attendance from all parts of the country, and from many Continental and American cities. His lecture formed part of a course on the History, Literature, Philosophy and Art of the Seventeenth Century. He wrote afterwards :—"I believe the majority of my Oxford audience knew practically nothing of the subject." His own lecture* was afterwards repeated, in part at least, at Chalfont House, the Friends' Settlement in London.

In 1895, the Friends' memorable Manchester Conference was held, and he was asked to preside on the opening day. He

* Chapter i.

felt that he would have had a far better opportunity of presenting thoughts which he had greatly at heart, as an individual speaker than as Chairman, but he acceded to the wishes of his friends. One who knew him well, writes :—

"He was an admirable Chairman, particularly in all Quaker gatherings. Firstly, he was gifted with an eminently judicial mind. He was always weighing the thoughts presented, not only in the light of the moment, but in the light of history, and so confidence came unsought both in the soundness of his judgment, in the wideness of his knowledge, and in the truth of his perspective.

"Secondly, he was very catholic, never perplexed but always interested in diversities of thought and character. And thirdly, his special interest in any gathering of Friends for serious thought, led him to give of his best very generously, and often induced a flow of humour which was not always imagined of him.

"At the Manchester Conference he was asked to give an inaugural address at the first session. He did not like the time limit proposed for the speakers to follow, he thought it unhistorical amongst Friends, but he agreed to take the chair and respond to the welcome of Dr. Maclaren and the Free Church deputation. His short but full address was most happily proportioned and appropriate. It shows how firmly and yet graciously he stood as a Friend for freedom in the light of history, for the liberty in which he believed Christ has made us free."

After the Conference was over, John S. Rowntree contributed two valuable papers to the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, entitled "The Problem before the Manchester Conference, with some Suggestions for its Solution."

In an introductory note he explained that "many questions, some of extreme interest, had been ably dealt with, but that to a large extent they had been discussed independently of each other, and their common relationship to the central problem which had led to the convening of the Conference." What he had written, he said, was "an attempt very imperfectly executed to supply this omission, and to give a practical outcome to the proceedings of the Conference."*

* See chapter vii.

This last sentence is most characteristic. He was continually trying to find "a practical outcome" for every fresh stirring of interest or sympathy, and every quickened ideal.

Believing that in every Friends' meeting there is a place and a service for each member, he warmly encouraged undertakings which might bring a variety of gifts into exercise, and amongst such he gave special sympathy to anything designed to help the smaller meetings by visits from Friends at a distance. In this connection he took a leading part in the forming of the Yorkshire Interchange of Visits Committee about 1886. He laid great stress on the desirability of having the travelling expenses of all visitors paid from a central fund, so that the cost of travelling should not prevent any from giving help, and at first he seems to have raised this fund privately. In 1897, at his instance, the Quarterly Meeting undertook the matter, and encouraged Friends to contribute to the Visitation Fund. A permanent Executive, to meet monthly, was also appointed the for more efficient carrying out of the work, but the original open Committee meetings continued to be held every quarter. Latterly the organisation has been merged in that of the larger Committee started to carry on the work of extension and upbuilding which the late John Wilhelm Rowntree was planning shortly before his death, and which, in commemoration of that event, and of the holding of the Yearly Meeting in the county, has since been known as "The Yorkshire 1905 Committee."

John S. Rowntree felt that

"the visitation of our meetings should not by any means be confined to those who have gifts of expression. The more the need of fellowship is studied, the more apparent does it become how varied are the spiritual gifts which are called into exercise in its prosecution. It is a helpful experience for most of us to be introduced from time to time into fellowship with those living under different circumstances from our own; for the members of a large congregation to meet with the very small companies that now occupy some of our places of worship, and, on the other hand, for the visitor from a small company of Friends to enter into feeling with a large meeting in which difficulties may exist, different from but not less serious than those in the smaller gathering."

John S. Rowntree not only took a warm interest in the general scheme, but followed with individual sympathy the particular visits arranged, and for a long time he took a large share in them himself.

He felt it a cause of much thankfulness when, in 1896, he was able to carry out a long felt wish to visit, with a minute from his Monthly Meeting, all the meetings within the compass of York Quarterly Meeting.

In these visits his wife often accompanied him, to his great help and satisfaction. He had it much on his heart to testify to the presence and power of the living Christ; to set forth the spirituality and inwardness of true Christianity as a very real experience in human lives and hearts, something far beyond and above outward observances or a mere profession.

His visit to Scholes, a little country meeting, is still vividly remembered. He spoke of a passage read in the Men's Class which he had attended, before Meeting, "I came not to send peace, but a sword," and as an illustration of the way in which the evil nature in man has often been roused into opposition by the preaching of the truth, he reminded his hearers of George Fox's experience some two centuries before, in a field by the river in the neighbouring town of Brighouse when, as he spoke of the Light of Christ, a crowd of butchers and others set upon him in violent anger, and there was a riot. But afterwards George Fox was able to say that in that place there came to be "A fine people, who sat under the teachings of Christ." The meaning and the outcome of "sitting under the teachings of Christ" formed the subject of the rest of his address; and there was a word for every class. He spoke of the necessity of growth and progress, and of the fellowship of love and service. Only, the service must be humble, if it was to be true and lasting. He had thought of King Uzziah, called to the throne when only sixteen years old, to find his kingdom in ruins. He had devoted himself magnificently to rebuilding it and was "marvellously helped," as all who truly seek to build up and strengthen others will be "marvellously helped" intellectually

and spiritually. Only, the warning of the story must never be forgotten: when Uzziah's heart was "lifted up," then he fell. The truest, the most faithful service will always be accompanied by the greatest humility and lowliness of mind.

He felt deeply for himself, as for others, this need of humility. As illustrating this, Alfred Neave Brayshaw writes:

"One of the finest things I ever heard from him was the account he gave to York Monthly Meeting of his service, when he returned a minute that had been granted him to visit the meetings in Yorkshire. He spoke of the strain on the spiritual life to any one put in such a position—how difficult it was to keep in the spirit of humility when one was made much of, consulted on all manner of subjects, on business matters, on delicate affairs in a Meeting, as a Magistrate, etc. The tone of his remarks was extraordinarily instructive."

It was towards the close of this year that he wrote to a young Friend telling her that he had "the utmost unity with what she had said in Meeting of the need to be humble if we are to be of much use in the world." He added, "This thought and feeling has been very present with me of late—more, I think, than ever in my life before."

Combined with this was his deep sense of the need for constant watchfulness. A few years later he wrote:—

"As one grows older the mystery of life does not grow any less; one becomes more and more sensible, I think, that no past experience and progress carries with it any immunity from the liability of falling."

Do not his words come to us with a double appeal? It is not only of ourselves that we have to think, of our own need of humility. It must surely be possible to show our gratitude for what we are receiving at public gatherings—Summer Schools, and Conferences—to give the warm and just praise which may be a strength and encouragement, without making the path of our guides and leaders more difficult than it need be.

A former master at Bootham School recalls a powerful address after the death of Tennyson. He thought it more memorable and striking than anything he heard or read at the time, on the same subject. The sermon was preached on a Wednesday

afternoon to the two Schools and a very small gathering of other Friends.

He recalls, also, a favourite quotation with which a sermon would sometimes be concluded :—

> "In heaven His servants serve Him,
> And no failing comes between
> The service that they render
> And the service that they mean."

In the summer of this year, 1896, he attended the Friends' Foreign Mission Conference at Darlington, and read an interesting sketch of the missionary work of the Society almost from the time of its rise, until 1690, and then again from 1860, with his own thoughts as to the reasons why the earlier missionary work of Friends proved so transitory in its effects.

At the end of the year, just after completing his visits to the various Yorkshire Meetings, with much peace and comfort to his own mind, an unexpected press of engagements all coming together proved too much for his strength, which suddenly collapsed, and a serious illness set in, followed by long and weary months of slow convalescence. He recovered, but his strength was not again what it had been. His health had never been robust, and now he was liable to sudden and unexplained drops in strength and energy, and at times he would feel very feeble.

At other times, however, he was fairly vigorous, and able to fulfil most of his usual engagements. Even when feeling ill and unequal to work, he still kept on his way with patient, quiet persistence, never abandoning an undertaking unless compelled. He was able to attend several sittings of the first Friends' Summer School at Scarborough in 1897, and to deliver three lectures there, incorporated in this volume, on *The Place of the Society of Friends in the Religious Life of England.*

As closely connected with the subject of J. S. Rowntree's lectures at Scarborough, reference may here be made to his paper on *The Relations of Denominational to National Life,* written for a winter Quarterly Meeting at York some time before,

of which he wrote afterwards—

". . . I felt my paper was a severe strain on the attention and patience of the company, but they bore it excellently, and many seemed very much interested. I did not know when I wrote my paper how the engagements of the Q.M. week would be an object lesson, far more eloquent than my figures, as to the absorbing power of the national life. A School Board contest is on the way here. . . Of the six unsectarian candidates, two are Friends, and the greatest interest is being taken by Friends, so that it has quite interfered with the attendance of some at the Quarterly Meeting."

In this paper it had been pointed out that the early Friends "had done a really far greater work than found a small denomination." They had grasped eternal principles of religious liberty and social justice and brotherhood, and by courageously trying various "holy experiments," in applying their principles to the working of human institutions and the actual affairs of men, they had set in motion ever widening circles of influence and power. "An historian like Bancroft," John S. Rowntree reminded his audience, "sees that the independence of the United States was the natural outcome of the foundation of New England and Pennsylvania."

It was this large conception of the place and work of Friends that John S. Rowntree put before the Scarborough Summer School, with much picturesque illustration and interesting detail. His lectures set forth what was almost his lifelong theme, the responsibility which rests upon every Church to proclaim its message to the world; the great thought that no Christian community exists for itself, but is entrusted with a mission which it is bound in honour to fulfil.

He maintained that whenever Friends as a body had forgotten this, and failed to look beyond the supposed interests and welfare of their own community, they had missed some great opportunity, if they had not made a serious mistake.*

* He gave two striking instances of this, see pp. 203 and 208. He was himself the speaker referred to, page 202, whose voice was as that of one crying in the wilderness.

The testimony of Friends against the taking of oaths was one in which he took keen interest; and he often dwelt on the duty of perfect truthfulness in speech. It was a deep satisfaction to him to be able to say :—

"After making careful enquiry in this country and in the United States, I have been unable to discover that any person has ever been convicted for making a false affirmation."

John S. Rowntree gave his hearty sympathy to the Free Church Federation. While he rejoiced in the spirit of union of which it was the outcome, and in its forward aim and constructive policy, he shared Dr. Berry's sense of the uselessness of this, or any other religious association, unless its members can dwell inwardly near the sources of spiritual strength, and under the quickening influence of high ideals, seeking continually for "fresh visions of (their) vocation and its possibilities."

He was from the first "one of the most valued leaders of the York Free Church Council," and was "always ready to uphold whatever tended to advance civil righteousness and religious liberty."*

During these years many changes took place in John S. Rowntree's family. Children married and settled in homes of their own, or work elsewhere took some away for a time.

His constant thought of the absent ones is shown in a letter of birthday greeting to a married daughter :—

"Though under different roofs, we shall not forget to honour the day in spirit, with grateful memories of all the delightful love and fellowship we have shared since thy early birthdays—and with warm desires that peace, joy and blessing may be with thee now that another anniversary comes round, under fresh circumstances, and with all thy life enriched, as we trust, by being interwoven with that of another."

As a correspondent, J. S. Rowntree was "extremely exact and punctual," if occasionally tantalising in his brevity. He frequently ended his letters with the words *Pax Vobiscum.*

For many who loved him this closing benediction was the treasured human element—the symbol of affectionate sympathy

* Minute of York Free Church Council, 1907.

and remembrance—in a note otherwise concerned only with necessary matters of fact. In earlier years he often wrote long and interesting letters, but later the contraction of two fingers made writing increasingly irksome, and he used a typewriter, or employed a secretary, and this did not tend to expansiveness or self-revealing in his letters.

Like Darwin, he took careful note of all objections urged against anything he had said or written.

Whilst letters of approval or of thanks for any kindness or service rendered, might presently be destroyed, those expressing doubt or objection were carefully preserved to be "dwelt upon," to use again a favourite expression which implied so much of thoughtful weighing and consideration.

Nevertheless, to destroy letters from those who were dear to him was always an unwelcome effort. To one of his friends he wrote :—

"The piles of letters you have had to deal with must have possessed a mournful interest. I feel the dealing with these memories of the past an engagement that uses up nervous energy very much—you are so sensible of the brevity of life, and for the time it is like dwelling among the dead."

In his own large correspondence John S. Rowntree received many requests for historical facts and data connected with the history of Friends, and in his turn he took every opportunity of gleaning these from others. Isaac Sharp* was most kind in again and again looking up the facts required. He writes :—

"I greatly valued my intercourse with John S. Rowntree. I frequently looked up for him information to which I had ready access —information which he knew so well how to digest and use. He was no mere antiquarian, but he had the historic instinct, which enabled him to put the due proportionate value on the data before him. No one, so far as I know, had a better acquaintance with the general history of Friends, both internal and external, that is in relation to the general history of this country and its religious movements. In his enthusiasm for history and historical research, the appearance of reserve which made him less easy of access than men of more

* Recording Clerk to the Society of Friends.

effusive temperament, entirely broke down both in private conversation or when speaking in public. This was equally true of those admirable and stirring addresses on various subjects which he gave to the Yearly Meeting, and many other gatherings. I well remember one interview in which he and I spent three hours without intermission in the strong rooms at Devonshire House. It was a cold day, and I fancy we pored over ancient books, in overcoats. I thoroughly enjoyed the time, and I think he did. I believe it was his first visit to these rooms from which much useful material had often been gleaned for him—not only by myself."

Although he was often making journeys in "the service of Truth," as he would have said of any one else, to speak or lecture in some other part of the country, he did not travel much for the sake of travelling. On holidays he much liked to visit places with historical associations. Old Roman remains always interested him, and on one occasion an exploration of the Roman Wall was a keen enjoyment; also a visit to Oxford, and to Stonehenge. He would enjoy a visit now and then to Switzerland or Italy, but preferred to keep away from dizzy heights and mountain railways.

In later years, a part of the annual holiday was often spent at Strathpeffer for the sake of being under the treatment of Dr. Fortescue Fox, his friend and medical adviser, whose skill and careful thoroughness often brought relief in times of recurring physical weakness or suffering, and attendant depression.

He generally returned from Scotland with some fresh strength and vigour for his autumn and winter engagements. On fine Saturdays, walks on the cliffs at Scarborough were also a great pleasure and refreshment; and when, as often, they were taken in company with his brother, Joseph Rowntree, whose fellowship and sympathy had always been so much to him, these expeditions were a keen enjoyment. In this brotherly union, the close tie between the John,* and Joseph Rowntree of an earlier generation seemed to be again repeated.

* John Rowntree of Scarborough, uncle to J. S. R., and the father of Mrs. J. W. Robson, of Huddersfield, of Joshua Rowntree, and Mrs. John Edward Ellis. John Rowntree was a wise, far seeing man, who combined intellectual depth with much breadth of view. He died in 1845.

He continued, when able, to visit other Meetings on Sundays, with his wife, and his friends were conscious of a growing spirituality in his ministry. As Jonathan B. Hodgkin has said : "The very intensity of his soul went with his message and his words laid hold," for they "touched life at every point," and his hearers felt that he spoke of what he knew.

After the autumn Quarterly Meeting at Sheffield, October, 1899, one who was present wrote of John S. Rowntree's service there :—

"I never before felt him so completely a prophet in his ministry, an inspired messenger and teacher. As several people remarked, he lost all the hesitancy that sometimes rather mars, and spoke with power, chiefly in earnest desire that all should uphold a living testimony to the spirituality of our faith, that in these days of newspaper conflicts about rites and ceremonies and incense and the Real Presence, we should 'speak that we do know' of the real presence of Christ with us continually, as Guide, Teacher, Inspirer and Friend.

"I felt his ministry very inspiring and it filled one with the desire to know much more of this 'Real Presence' all the time. Also I felt that the fact of his being able to give himself so beautifully to the care of all the Churches, when many private matters pressed, was very teaching."

When he took the Reading at the Sunday evening meeting, he did everything he could to make it living and interesting, having always in mind the young hearers from the Schools.

One of these who was at York nearly twenty years ago writes :

"When I was at the Mount, word was always passed round when he was to take the Reading at Evening Meeting, and no headaches or colds were too severe not to be ignored to hear him. I remember particularly how we enjoyed a series of talks on Job, and what an inspiration they were."

He would sometimes speak at the evening meeting at the Retreat. On one occasion he drew lessons of hope and trust from the habits of migratory birds, "lone wandering, but not lost." Another time he read Psalm xix. and followed it by John xiv., dwelling upon its message of comfort and strength.

A favourite text from which many must have heard him speak was: "Let each man wherein he was called, therein abide with God." He never used the words in any unprogressive sense—the "calling" itself is to progress—but he would dwell with a wonderful impressiveness on the possibility of knowing the Divine communion in any circumstances, of joy or sorrow. "He emphasised the importance of not yielding to the temptation to think that in some other sphere or circumstances one could serve God much better than just where one has been placed." He would speak of the temptation which comes with any interruption to one's line of service, through illness or otherwise, to feel as if everything were thereby stopped for the time, and nothing could be done but wait till the arrested life and service can go on again. He would urge that in reality there has been no "arrest"—that the trying hindrance is no interruption to life, but a part of it, the opportunity for a fresh kind of service, on the right use of which may depend the success of the next step one may be called to take.

There was, of course, nothing original in this thought, but it was expressed with a power and reality that made it memorable. Is it not much akin to the feeling with which Edward Thring reviewed his experience when he wrote—

> "How strongly it comes home to me, that it is not what we do or say that God uses, but our lives, and how immeasurably my life has been raised by the trials and waste of time that to a great extent have destroyed the intellectual power of the work done."

Whittier's poetry, for which John S. Rowntree had a growing love, was sometimes taken as the subject of an address. He thought of "the lasting and Catholic elements" in Whittier's writings as being (1) "the breadth of his human sympathies; (2) the spirituality of his apprehension of true religion, however it may array itself as to exterior profession; and (3) the hopefulness with which he views even the sin and suffering of earth in the light of the Divine love." He looked upon Whittier as having been "to quite a remarkable extent the interpreter

of a spiritual conception of Christian truth to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."

In his Scarborough Summer School lectures, he remarked that " the responses evoked by the speeches of Bright, and the poetry of Whittier, indicate that the truths they enunciated, even when unpopular at the time, reached the Divine witness in the hearts of thousands."*

John S. Rowntree thought of Whittier as

"rather specifically the poet of later life. Very few poets have expressed more tenderly the thoughts of advanced life, and yet through all these pensive musings there runs the element of cheerful Christian hope. . . ."

" A very noticeable feature of Whittier's poetry is the excellence of that which he wrote in the later years of his life, in marked contrast with Wordsworth, who did all his best work when he was a young man. The power of Whittier's poetry depended very largely upon its spiritual insight. This insight grew clearer and deeper with advancing years, whilst familiarity with authorship polished and refined his style. He may probably be the most lastingly known by his two poems, *The Eternal Goodness* and *Our Master*, written in 1865 and 1866. . ."

" Amongst the later poems which naturally appeal the most powerfully to readers in middle or later life may be mentioned *At Eventide*, 1878; *The Clear Vision*, 1868; *My Birthday*, 1871; *At Last*, 1882; *What the Traveller said at Sunset*, 1883; and the lines to O. W. Holmes written but a few weeks before Whittier's death in 1892."†

His range of reading was wide, but he turned with special interest to history, and to religious and general biography. Nothing of importance in these fields seemed to escape his notice. He kept in touch, in a general way, with what was being done in the field of Biblical interpretation, and specially enjoyed those volumes of "The Expositor's Bible" written by Dr. George Adam Smith, and one or two books by Professor Ramsay.

He always welcomed books by his friends Frederic Seebohm, Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, Dr. J. Rendel Harris and Dr. Rufus M. Jones. *Oxford Reformers* was often referred to, and the pleasure

* See the whole passage, p. 187.

† From J. S. Rowntree's Notes for a Lecture on Whittier.

with which he read the later volumes of *Italy and her Invaders* is specially remembered, as also his enjoyment of *A Boy's Religion* by Rufus M. Jones.

He loved poetry, and often read aloud a poem by Tennyson or Lowell, or some cantos from *In Memoriam*, or occasionally Myers' *Saint Paul*. He enjoyed good fiction, too, and when tired would often turn for refreshment, late in the evening, to a favourite chapter, or to some humorous passage, which occasionally he would read aloud.

The war in South Africa, 1899-1901, was an inexpressible sorrow to John S. Rowntree. Its dark cloud lay upon his spirit like a heavy weight from which there was no escape. As detailed news arrived of the fighting, the sieges, the burning of farms and the concentration camps, he read with acute pain and indignation, and spoke out in condemnation with a passionate intensity of feeling and conviction that for a time made him unpopular.

He lectured in many places on "Christian and Non-Christian Patriotism Contrasted," and found, as others found in those days, that whilst the war fever lasted it was almost impossible to obtain a hearing from those who were under its sway, but what he said was a strength and encouragement to others who were striving to resist its influence.

"The times are inexpressibly sad," he wrote. "All moral causes are at ebb tide. The peace-loving England of twenty years ago has for the time lost her sense of lofty ideals—her people are not shocked by the blood-shedding which she is causing in Africa and Asia. A paralysis has fallen upon the churches. War is defended; slavery, under veiled names, is openly advocated."

When at last the war came to an end, and taking advantage of the reaction in public feeling which followed, the Yearly Meeting decided to send a Peace Deputation to its Meetings, he did valuable service as one of its members.

He wrote a short paper to be read at a meeting of the members of the Deputation before it started on its work, saying that "at

the outset of all work it is well for the worker clearly to know what he is going to do, or, at any rate, to aim at doing."

He pointed out that "if a peaceable spirit in the individual is one of the fruits of a true spiritual experience, then everything which hinders a real subjection to the rule of Christ is likely to diminish individual interest in the cause of peace, both between individuals and nations. When, therefore, there is a lessened interest taken in peace, one of the fruits of the Spirit is less in evidence, and we have the symptoms of diminished spiritual vigour in the body."

The methods of advocacy he encouraged would now be best indicated, at least in part, by a reference to "The Way of Peace," in Joan M. Fry's book,* which he read with warm approval and sympathy.

The writing of what John S. Rowntree called his "booklet" *The Society of Friends: its Faith and Practice*, took up much of his time in the autumn of 1900, and the spring of 1901. Its aim was "to set forth simply and concisely the present day faith and practice of Friends."†

As the year was closing, the health of his son, James Edward, then living at Southport, began to be a source of great and recurring anxiety, necessitating frequent visits to Southport, in order to cheer and help his son.

When a little child, James Edward had been very delicate. As he grew he developed into a lovable, sunny-natured boy, who faced difficulties with indomitable good humour. An open-air life strengthened his physique; for many years he enjoyed fully average health and strength and it was hoped that the weakness of his infancy had been entirely surmounted. These hopes of permanent recovery were not to be fulfilled. One breakdown followed another. After a fresh attack of illness in the beginning of 1904, a change to Falmouth was advised. In February, John S. Rowntree and his wife went there in advance to receive the invalid, who was accompanied by his wife and child. But he

* *The Way of Peace and other Papers*, by Joan Mary Fry.

† See Appendix I.

grew worse, and after long months of weakness and suffering, he passed peacefully away in October, 1904.

His frail body enshrined a most healthy spirit. He had a quick sense of humour, with a happy ability to look on the bright side of things, and the sad sorrow of his hopeless illness was lightened for others by the brave patience with which it was borne, the cheery interest he took in family doings, and his enjoyment at times of the beauty which surrounded him. The unfailing kindness and sympathy shown by Falmouth Friends were a greater help than can be told. They gave John S. Rowntree a warm welcome at their meetings. Even the little children liked to come, for they counted on hearing something from him that they could understand and enjoy. It is remembered that one day he told the children the story of Ralph the Rover, of which he had been reminded by the bell on the easternmost Manacle Rocks, —and applied it to the shipwreck of character. And in this connection it may be mentioned also that at one week-day meeting at York, when there were only three children present, he gave them an inspiring little children's sermon, telling them the story of the Russian soldier who saved a comrade from freezing to death by rubbing him and keeping his limbs in movement, and found that in doing this his own numbness had passed away.

The parents stayed on with their son until May, and when obliged to return home, the father felt, in the constant thought of his son, "almost closer," as he told him, than when with him, and "withheld from speaking much by the fulness of one's feeling," but his tender, almost daily messages of love and cheer are too sacred and personal for publication. Those who stayed at Mount Villas this summer, whilst it lay under the shadow of impending loss, were conscious of a ruling peace, a trustful, quiet sense that all was well.

Through pressing family claims and anxieties, the great controversy which was raging over what he considered the retrogressive Education Act of 1902 weighed much upon his spirit. Behind the points then at issue between those who

differed as to the right course for Free Churchmen to take in regard to it, he saw the background of the past, and its warning lessons against any attempt on the part of the Church to dictate or enforce a uniformity of action on its members. He differed from those who took for granted that the time-honoured action of Friends in the past who had refused to pay tithes and enforced the like refusal upon others, had been the best and wisest course. But he had such a keen sense of the great and glaring injustice of the Bill, that any conscientious protest against it had, as such, his warm sympathy, even though he could not himself have taken the same line of protest.

He explained his own position in letters to *The Friend*, during 1902 and 1903. The historical argument is too long to quote, but as a minor consideration he added :—

"After paying a 1s. 3d. Income Tax for the South African War, one is conscious of some sense of disproportion in refusing a rate for a school, even if it is carried on upon principles, and teaches dogmas which one utterly disapproves of. Many readers of *The Friend* are probably in the same position as the writer in having subscribed to the Church school of the village for many years, knowing it was preferable for the children to be taught there than not at all. It strikes one as odd, to use no stronger term, when your school subscription ceases to refuse payment of the school rate."

He was, however, far more in sympathy with those who conscientiously refused payment of the Education rate, and suffered for their refusal, than with those who merely criticised. He wrote :—

"It is no matter of surprise, or of regret, to find that many of your readers feel conscientiously restrained from paying the Education rate, whilst others believe they are bound to do so. I admire the action of the Wesleyan Conference in expressing sympathy with those who suffer in obedience to conscience, whilst giving no official judgment either favourable or adverse to the policy of Passive Resistance ; and think the Friends' Yearly Meeting would have done wisely had it adopted a similar minute."

He refused to take any part in enforcing the education rate upon those who could not conscientiously pay it, and felt this

"a perfectly legitimate position" for magistrates to occupy, "even should it involve any loss of business, or the removal of their names from the roll of magistrates."

He reminded Friends that

"the great revolution of public opinion in the direction of religious liberty between 1660 and 1689 was materially helped by the unwillingness and even, in some cases, by the refusal, of Church of England magistrates to enforce upon Friends and other Nonconformists the cruel penalties to which they were legally liable."

When a number of Passive Resisters were summoned for non-payment of the rate, it was a satisfaction to John S. Rowntree and his family to show their sympathy publicly by being present, and on this occasion the Resisters were treated with perfect courtesy.

Whilst this controversy was raging, John S. Rowntree was quietly working in his own way, and constructively, for the religious education of the children for whom Friends are most directly responsible. It was his deep interest in this question which led about this time (1900-1904) to such long and exhaustive inquiry into the Friends' system of registration. For him statistics were all alive with significance. He saw the human facts which lay behind them, and he had been concerned to find, as the result of much patient investigation, that year by year an increasing number of children connected with Friends, but not registered as members because only one parent was a member, had largely missed coming under the influence of Friends. The children had been sent more and more to the public elementary schools, and excellent as the general education received there may have been, John S. Rowntree believed that many of these children had really come less under religious influence than children belonging to other Christian denominations whose Sunday Schools they were expected to attend.

He believed that

"the right education and Christian nurture of these children is as important both for their own welfare and for the future of the Society as is that of children who are in membership, and that it demands more attention than it is receiving."

His Quarterly Meeting took up the subject and devoted much attention to it, bringing it before the Yearly Meeting in 1903. It was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings " for further investigation and careful consideration "—which has resulted in bringing the needs of the children unregistered as members—the primary motive of the whole inquiry—before the attention of the Society at large.*

Some of John S. Rowntree's suggestions as to possible methods of meeting these needs will be found in his article on the educational policy of Friends.†

He always liked to make the Educational Trust Funds of the Society as widely available as possible for the help of such children.

He welcomed the reconstituted Central Education Committee in 1902, giving the work of its secretaries his hearty sympathy and accepting the post of treasurer.

He took a large view of the duties of a treasurer, applying to them the spirit of the words, " Do not pray for tasks equal to your powers, but for powers equal to your tasks." He thought that a treasurer should not content himself with making the

* " The Meeting for Sufferings appointed the Registration Committee, which reported through it to the Y.M. of 1904. (See Y.M. *Minutes and Proceedings*, 1904, pp. 24-31.) John S. Rowntree took great interest in the preparation of this report, and I was closely associated with him in it. No one had a better knowledge of statistics respecting the Society, nor a better understanding of the uses to which they could be put. The Committee recommended that the present system of registration be continued.

Turning from the subject of registration, the Committee proceeded to deal with the present circumstances of the Society in connection with the large number of children not registered as members, and of whom the Society has taken but little notice until they have commenced attendance of Meetings. The Committee recommended the Y.M. to address a memorandum on the subject to subordinate Meetings. (This was left to the Central Education Committee.)

The next recommendation the Y.M. accepted, commending it to the Monthly Meetings. It proposed that Monthly Meetings should keep lists of all children identified with their congregations whether in membership or not.

The third recommendation was that the eleventh Query should be altered, and this was adopted, the words ' the young people in your different congregations,' taking the place of ' your younger members.' "—[Note by Isaac Sharp.]

† Chapter x.

most of the sums entrusted to him, but should help to raise them, making the need of funds so plain and appealing by clear statements, that they cannot be withheld. A generous giver himself, he had great faith in the generosity of Friends, and believed that funds will always be forthcoming when Friends are satisfied as to the need for them, and the manner of their proposed expenditure. He would urge the duty of readiness, where there is an increasing income, to increase subscriptions proportionately. He attached great importance to perfect exactitude in the charge of other people's money.

When acting as trustee for an individual, or dealing with some small fund, he gave his best thought and judgment to the matter in hand, with as much care as when dealing, as a Councillor, with City finances, or, as Director, giving valued guidance to the affairs of the Friends' Provident Institution.

To turn to the happy home life, where his character shone most brightly. A "centred and tranquil spirit" prevailed. It was the realisation of Whittier's aspiration :—

> "And let our ordered lives confess
> The beauty of Thy peace."

There was an absence of anything like rush or haste. The calm, unhurried judgment shown in regard to great matters was just as striking in the everyday affairs of life.

One recalls so many things. The pleasant leisurely breakfast (to which, as to everything else, he was habitually punctual) when the family letters were read and talked over, and absent members seemed linked in spirit with the circle round the table. The details of plans for the day were considered or announced, and often would the humorous comments of the head of the household evoke merriment and laughter. It was delightful to see the smile break out on his grave face, accompanied by kindling eyes and deepening colour, lighting up his countenance in a wonderful way as he looked into your eyes for response and sympathy, till the amusement subsided, and his usual "gathered" expression returned.

This word may need explanation. John S. Rowntree's strong sense of order and fitness made him keenly alive to any kind of oddity or peculiarity. One way in which this was sympathetically shown was in the interest he took in dialect, the dialect of a particular period, or Church, or of an individual.

Some of the frequent expressions of the early Friends had struck him as so apt and fitting that he would quote them often, and they passed into very expressive family use. The word "gathered," was often chosen to describe a calm and collected state of mind, or way of doing things, paying visits for instance, and it represented a kind of ideal to be aimed at. The visitor to John S. Rowntree's home, who might happen to hear this word in use, could hardly fail to notice how descriptive it was of his character, methods and surroundings.

Often there had already been a walk round the garden, and perhaps the daily weather observations had been taken, and these were always a topic of interest.

Then came the family Bible-reading, always impressive in its deep reverence and earnestness of tone.

Before going out to fufill his usual engagements, there were often letters to be answered in the library, where, amongst numberless histories and biographies, were ranged the thick volumes in which, year by year, its "Friend" literature was bound together, the various reports and papers issued by the Society, the reports of its educational, missionary, and philanthropic associations, and often pamphlets or lectures of interest by individual Friends—all preserved, as if they were family records, for frequent reference in his historical work and preparation of pamphlets and lectures.

After the early nineties, when he had begun to use a bicycle, he would often cycle to the city. He used his experience as a cyclist as another illustration of a favourite theme—the impossibility of standing still—the necessity for very life and safety of always going forward. In one of his unpublished lectures, the life of Ignatius Loyola was used to emphasise the same thought. He would dwell upon the fact that the Church of Rome, when almost

at the lowest ebb, and when its prospects were more discouraging than those of Friends were at their worst, was yet so revived by the aggressive policy started by Loyola, that from numberless dangers it emerged vigorous and strong. And he would point out that weapons powerful for evil, or for a very doubtful good, "would be still more potent in the cause of Truth." He was also greatly interested in Loyola's power of government, and thought the study of his life useful, for this reason, to those who have to govern others.

A talk with John S. Rowntree, when his mind was free for it, was a delightful experience. He helped one to get to the heart of things, and seemed to bring the smallest practical problems of life out into the clear daylight, as it were, and made them take their right places in relation to larger matters of life and duty. A difficulty which might perhaps have been exaggerated in one's thoughts, and have loomed too large through being pondered over closely and exclusively, would be quickly put into a truer perspective and reduced to its right proportions.

To some of us who knew him well, it came to be one of the privileges of our lives to be able to consult him freely about almost any kind of perplexity. He lived amongst the realities, and so his talk was real and vital. It was not that he always said striking or memorable things—quite otherwise,—nor did he offer direct advice, but he seemed to have the power, somehow, of helping one to come into a clearer atmosphere, and a higher point of view, from which it was possible to see for one's self what had not, perhaps, been clear before ; and so, whilst it is not easy now to recall distinctly the course of particular conversations, the impression left behind is one of help and uplifting.

He had to the full the child's simplicity and single-heartedness, the child's fresh, pure delight in little things, and in the beauties of life and nature. But he had not the child's faculty of happy self-abandonment. Like Paul, who felt "the care of all the Churches" on him, he could no more lay aside the sense of responsibility for others, than a mother can forget her responsibility for her child.

Had he lived in Gideon's day, he would inevitably have been one of the three hundred who would not give themselves up entirely to the luxury of quenching their thirst, but who, as they drank, continued prompt, alert and watchful, ready for any surprise or movement of the foe. For, as he used to say, and seemed always to realise, where there is " an open door " " there are many adversaries " also. Perhaps it was the sense of this, and a consciousness of the greatness of an opportunity, and the danger of missing it, which often made him grave and silent.

His thought of others showed itself in his manner of reading. He could not read a book through without asking himself what its influence on other minds would be. It was impossible to him to take up a work of one-sided or exaggerated character, or one of mingled truth and error, simply to enjoy the good in it, and forget all the rest. His habit of looking at things as a whole was too strong for this, and any unsatisfactory element in a book likely to be much read was a matter of concern to him. For unconsciously he credited others with all his own orderly completeness of thought and openness to impressions in their totality ; whilst readers of another type of mind may see only what appeals to them, and quite untouched by anything of an opposite character, may find, in the spirit of the gleaner, precious grains of truth in the midst of chaff and stubble.

He sometimes read a book which he would not otherwise have cared to read, simply for the sake of understanding the position of some one who had been influenced by it.

He thought nothing a waste of time which might tend to keep and cultivate a fellowship with hearts.

Whilst he recognised that every period of life, as every position, has its own difficulties, he entered with special sympathy into the inward troubles of his brother ministers. There are those who, under the weight of a desolating sorrow, or a weakening illness, have found themselves, like some of the saintliest souls of the past, humbled, and bowed down by a sense of inability to lay hold, in conscious realisation, of the truths to which they have often directed others in like circumstances. Such men, who, perplexed

and disappointed, have questioned themselves anxiously as to the cause, have found that when they could speak to no one else, they could lay bare their hearts to him, sure of his comprehending sympathy, sure that he would not misunderstand—far less condemn them.

Whilst John S. Rowntree had a deep conviction of the need for prayer, he had also a very comprehending sense of the difficulties of those who do not find it easy to pray.

One of his friends remembers how, in a time of much numbness of feeling, following on the exhaustion of a great sorrow, she told him it seemed almost impossible to pray with any living sense of reality. Prayer seemed a mere form, she said, and whilst it continued to be so, would it not be more honest to give it up altogether for a time ?

Almost to her surprise, she found her difficulty perfectly understood, and a sense of new spiritual possibility and help came to her as he reminded her of the value, in merely human relations, of the morning and evening greeting between children and their parents. Often, it may happen that the child has really nothing to say beyond the usual greeting, words which mean the acknowledgement of a relationship, but this alone, he pleaded, is of high value, keeping the sense of a great and vital fact fresh and warm, so that it cannot be ignored or forgotten. He urged that if this is true in the merely human relationship, how much more in that which is Divine and spiritual, that which alone can give true meaning and reality to human life.

But it would be untrue to imply that his conversation was always of a serious character. One who lived in his family for years as governess to his younger children, writes :—

> " Wherever he was there was peace and kindliness and true sympathy ; and his quaint humour and enjoyment of anything humorous one can never forget."

So we see that even after the lapse of many years, this " enjoyment of anything humorous " is recalled as one of his most constant characteristics. It would show itself in unexpected ways. He would raise a smile even in the Yearly Meeting by

a reference to some quaint, unusual phrase, or some curious episode in the past. Fielden Thorp remembers that on one occasion, during a Quarterly Meeting, several leading women Friends, for some unexplained reason, failed to take their usual seats at the head of the meeting. Many honoured places were left conspicuously empty, and a puzzled inquirer, on looking round, might discover their accustomed occupants gathered near the door. In an address that morning, John S. Rowntree took occasion to refer to the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, and her wondering admiration of everything she saw, including even "the sitting of his servants." "We were not told anything," he said, "about the manner in which this was carried out, but one thing was clear, the King's servants must have been sitting in their right places." There was nothing in his tone or manner to indicate that his remark had reference to any present occasion. But the hint was taken, and those present at the next session were all "sitting in their right places."

He had always a great love of order. With all his real simplicity of nature, there was also something stately and royal in his feeling about life. He liked every function and event to have its due honour, and every duty to be "worthily" fulfilled. It shocked his taste, his sense of the fitness of things, to have things slurred over, or done anyhow. Some will remember his taking, as the starting point of a sermon those words of Gladstone's quoted in the last sentence of John Morley's biography :—

"Be inspired with the belief that life is a great and noble calling ; not a mean and grovelling thing that we are to shuffle through as we can, but an elevated and lofty destiny."

An occasional visitor at Mount Villas writes :—

"When I first knew John S. Rowntree I am afraid I felt him a formidable man to talk to : one so learned and wise could hardly be interested, so I imagined, in commonplace concerns, or in one's thoughts about them.

"When I came to know him better, I wondered how I could have felt like this. I found that if, instead of waiting for him to introduce some great and important topic of his own, one began to talk to him

simply about quite everyday matters, he was quickly and easily interested, and so delightfully sympathetic. I noticed, too, that simple-hearted people—children, and poor men and women, were at home with him immediately, and instinctively sure of his sympathy.

"I remember once, after a week-day morning meeting, he kindly took me to see some old buildings in the city, and afterwards, on our way back to his home, he pointed out some almshouses for women, and stopped at the door of one to ask if I might see the interior. The day was cold, and the old woman had a beautifully clear fire burning. She asked us to sit down, and John S. Rowntree praised her fire, and its perfect freedom from dust and ash. She was gratified and launched into explanations of her methods, and then, somehow, she began to pour out the story of her life, one of many losses and much sorrow.

"We had called, as we thought, for a momentary glance at the room, and it was inconvenient to stop—but he would not interrupt her; he listened quietly, but with speaking sympathy in his face, till the story came to an end, and then said a few kind words which brought the tears to her eyes as we rose to leave.

"He was a delightful companion in a country walk. He seemed to notice everything and enjoy everything with such keen interest and enthusiasm, and what one saw reminded him so often of interesting associations and memories. He seemed always to have

'Amongst least things
An under-sense of greatest,'

and very simply and naturally the talk would often glide on to the most real things of all.

"I remember, too, delightful talks round the drawing-room fire, on the rare evenings when he was at liberty.

"Often the talk would be about some question of Biblical interpretation, or of theology, for though he kept theological definitions out of his sermons, he gave much time and thought to such subjects. He said once that he had been struck with some remarks by Frederick D. Maurice on what we are told of the work and influence of the Holy Spirit. 'He shall not speak of *Himself*, but shall take of mine, and show it unto you.'*

* "We should not, perhaps, be able to make out the force of the words, 'He shall not speak of Himself,' if the history of the Church and the world had not expounded them. Again and again there have been teachers in the Church who have spoken loudly of an illuminating Spirit. They have said that a dispensation of the Spirit had come, which made the old Gospel of Jesus Christ poor and obsolete; they have said that now the Spirit was all that men had to think of or believe in. So spoke a portion of the Franciscans, in the thirteenth century; some of the brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit, in the fourteenth; some of the Anabaptists, in the sixteenth; some of the Quakers in the seventeenth; so speak not a few who are revolting

"He thought that Friends in the past had sometimes failed to recognise this. They had laid stress on 'perceptible' guidance, on an experience of spiritual revelation, rather than on the truth revealed. And thus, sometimes, they had practically denied the freedom of the human will, and spoken as though man were a helpless puppet in the hands of a higher will.

"Whatever may be the deepest truth of human personality, and however men may try to express it in words, whether as being 'conjunct' with the Divine, or by some other term, John S. Rowntree said that, as a fact of human experience, man not only acts freely, but for his own good and development he is allowed to feel often as if he were acting alone; as a little child, learning to walk, is encouraged to depend upon himself, left, as he thinks, to run alone, though another's arms, unseen, are close behind him all the time, 'a hand-breadth off,' he said, reminding us of the lines—

"'. . . God's all, man's nought:
But also, God, whose pleasure brought
Man into being, stands away
As it were a handbreadth off, to give
Room for the newly-made to live,
And look at him from a place apart.'

"He did not often refer to Browning, but on this occasion he went, I think, to the bookcase to find the passage in *Christmas Eve* which he has quoted in one or more of his pamphlets.

"Sometimes he would talk about the Mystics, in whom he had long taken great interest. Or he would refer to some hymn to which he was giving special consideration. He had a very wide knowledge of hymns, and took great interest in comparing lines written by men of widely differing theological standpoints, as evidence of the unity of spirit underlying all intellectual divergence, amongst those who truly live the Christian life.

"Often the talk would be on lighter subjects. He would remind us of facts of historical or archaeological interest, or he would give

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against materialism, without having found any safe standing ground from which to oppose it, in our own. The Spirit in such men speaks of 'itself.' Such a Spirit, our Lord says, is not the Holy Spirit; for He will speak whatsoever things He hears; He will bring to us the message of a Father, from whom He comes. He will not make us impatient of a Lord and Ruler, but desirous of one, eager to give up ourselves to his guidance, eager to get rid of our own fancies and conceits, and to enter more into fellowship with all men. He will not allow us to be satisfied with our advanced knowledge or great discoveries, but will always be showing us things that are coming; giving us an apprehension of truths that we have not yet reached, though they be truths which are 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.'"

F. D. Maurice, *Gospel of St. John*, pp. 402-3.

examples of curiosities of dialect. Some of us remember his noting with amusement the favourite adjective of a Westmorland guide with whom everything notable was something 'serious'; for example, a large quarry passed on the way was 'a very serious quarry'; or again, a Yorkshire phrase sometimes used in advising a stranger in his choice of route: 'This way is the shortest but that is the gainest,' *i.e.* the best and therefore the quickest.

"He had a large fund of racy stories, and could tell them delightfully. One evening he told with much zest of a strange malapropism of which he had been made the subject. He had been asked to speak at a little out-of-the-way chapel where, I think, the expected preacher had been unable to come.

"In the course of the service, a good man in the congregation, probably not possessed of much mental culture, offered thanks for the presence and help of their visitor 'clothed, and in his right mind.'

"No doubt the speaker had a really fine perception of harmony and rightness of thought in what he had been hearing, but his powers of expression were unequal to the task of making this clear.

"I think I never knew any man with a more evenly balanced mind than John S. Rowntree, or more free from any tendency to fall into 'the falsehood of extremes.' I used to think it would have been impossible to hypnotise him; and his 'tranquil strength' was shown in refusing to be drawn into any action until he felt satisfied that it was right.

"He would do nothing whilst in doubt. But when he saw his way his action was always practical and full of strong commonsense.

"In his later years of failing strength, there were times when his head was too tired to go on working, too tired even for the lightest reading, and then he would often turn to some game for two, and prefer to play it alone, taking each side himself in turn, whilst conversation or evening music was going on. I used to feel it instructive to see how quietly he accepted the fact of fatigue without complaint, and did not feel it beneath him to try such a simple restorative as a child's game, like Halma. With characteristic impartiality he held the balance evenly between the two sides, never favouring either, and never knew himself till near the end which side would win.

"With all his power he was even more dependent than most men on home sympathy for the completeness of his happiness; and though there was a refreshing independence of thought and taste in his home circle, and freedom of mutual comment, and playful criticism, yet never was a man more loyally supported by his family in his

undertakings, and never was any man more grateful than he for the fellowship and help of wife and children, or more ready to acknowledge what he owed to them.

"At home, he seemed hardly his full self without his wife, and missed her keenly whenever she was absent. He liked to have her companionship on his journeys, and at the meetings he attended.

"With strong and tender sympathy she was ready for every requirement, and dowered with a courage and resource that rose to every emergency. Well for him that her gracious and sustaining presence was with him to the end!"

Though very unwell in the autumn of 1903, John S. Rowntree recovered sufficiently to preside, as was desired, over the Ministry Conference held at York in November. The office he then filled debarred him from the full expression of his own views; but afterwards, at the request of its editor, he wrote an article for the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, setting forth the place and abiding necessity of Ministry.

"It seemed to afford the opportunity," he wrote to a correspondent, "for saying some things that one felt had not been said in the Conference. I still feel rather strongly that its principal advantages will be likely to arise if it directs the minds of Friends to more careful thought respecting the Christian Ministry."

As a friend has remarked, John S. Rowntree had "an immense sense of the importance of right human arrangements, and wise organisation in the Christian Church. Those who have listened to his public addresses, or read his pamphlets, know how often, and how earnestly, he dwelt upon this thought,* how he would illustrate it by the examples of Whitefield and Wesley—the work of the one comparatively evanescent, the work of the other, permanent, through wise organisation."

In 1896, he wrote:—

"Individually, Friends are and have been strong; corporately, they are and have been weak. . . . Friends will miss one of the cardinal lessons of their history, if they do not recognise congregational or corporate faithfulness, as that which loudly demands more attention than it has usually received at their hands."

* See chapter vi.

Since this was written, we have, as a body, become more alive to the need to which he pointed, and "the sense of Christian fellowship is now taking more hold of us," and imparting a new meaning and interest to our business meetings and committees, as to many other things.

John S. Rowntree had long been accustomed to give much time and thought, not only to the large problems which came before Friends, but to the practical details of meetings for the transaction of Church affairs.

He would consider beforehand the various matters which were to come forward for consideration or decision, and try to see the best course to be taken with regard to them. He desired flexibility of method, a wise readiness to adapt Church arrangements to varying needs and circumstances, and when an alteration was to be made, or a fresh step taken, he thought it abundantly worth while to make any amount of effort or enquiry to find out the best plan or method of procedure. He shared John Wilhelm Rowntree's desire to make the business as well as the devotional meetings of Friends as widely educational as possible, and to have attenders invited to them, and he cordially supported the proposal to try occasional week-end Quarterly Meetings.

He would think over the programme for a Quarterly Meeting, very carefully, desiring that it should make as wide an appeal as possible. He liked the printed programme to be effectively arranged and attractive in appearance, as well as in its contents.

Altogether, he used to seem a necessary part of his Quarterly Meeting. He was a clear and effective speaker, though in discussion or argument his manner may sometimes have been more convincing than persuasive. He stated his belief simply and forcibly, giving his reasons fully for any conclusion he had come to, relying altogether on these reasons—not on any mode of presentation—for the assent of his hearers, honouring them too much to try to please or to persuade. When he spoke, the subject made its worth and greatness felt, and revealed something of its true proportions and relations.

It might be that others could not always come to the same conclusion as he did. It might be possible, sometimes, to put another interpretation on the facts or the considerations he advanced, but these were so well weighed and important, that it was always felt they must receive attention. They could never be ignored.

Few things gladdened him more than any fresh proof that his younger Friends had the welfare of their congregation and their Church at heart. Any new and happy suggestion as to ways in which the sense of fellowship might be shown or extended was a keen pleasure to him, as at the last Quarterly Meeting at which he was present, when one of the younger Friends said how much those prevented by illness from attending had been missed, and proposed the appointment of one or two Friends to take a message of sympathy from the Meeting and to tell of its interests.

It was a delight to him to encourage any effort for the good of others, and he used to feel and say that many of the young people were able to be of far more service than he had ever been. When he was out of York he would remember the engagements and plans of those at home, and follow their doings with sympathy and prayer. When referring to a particular gathering he would sometimes express the hope that "as the Friends used to say, 'Truth was in dominion.'"

Only a few weeks before his death he wrote to a daughter who was attending a series of meetings at Wakefield—

". . . We constantly think of you and your companions in these meetings at Wakefield, and hope they may go on satisfactorily, I well know how many questionings and provings of faith arise in the prosecution of such a service. We can only ask that all needed strength may be granted you."

His constant sense of the danger of less worthy motives mingling with the higher in any public line of service, perhaps deepened the honour he felt for forms of help and usefulness which rarely win the notice and praise of men, and he was often inclined to think that in reality when "the last shall be first" they may prove to have been of higher value than work that might seem

more spiritual and important. The frequency with which he would dwell on this thought in his public ministry has already been referred to, and it was also often a theme of his conversation and correspondence. He would sometimes refer to Stephen Crisp, and his sense of "call" to help people, not only spiritually, but in their business concerns, and to "be as a staff to the weak in these things."*

John S. Rowntree occasionally spoke of the many who feel their need of wise advice and guidance in matters of business, but know no one of whom they dare ask it; he would refer to those amongst the poor who are involved in difficulties and perplexities from which they might soon be set free by any one possessed of business or legal knowledge, and he would rejoice when he heard of any one qualified giving himself to this high service, as he thought it.

Again, he would refer to the keeping of the Society's accounts, or those of an Association, as a most valuable and important service.

He had the needs of individuals often on his heart, and would speak of these needs to those who he thought might do something to meet them. He remembered the lonely ones, the aged and feeble, and the chronic invalids to whom a call from a bright and sympathetic visitor is a very real help. He thought some in the habit of giving such help, need not confine it to members of their own meeting, but might sometimes feel the call to visit Friends in other places, to whom a fresh face, an unaccustomed presence, might bring a rare and most welcome help and pleasure.

John S. Rowntree was interested in the starting of *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, and wrote a Foreword for it, bespeaking for the new venture "a wide and cordial support."

His own interest in historical research, like his enjoyment of nature, remained keen and fresh to the end of his life.

His letters to his children often contained some brief nature note.

* Page 249.

Writing from Strathpeffer Spa, 22nd August, 1904, he said—

"In the Spa Hotel garden here, the flowering rush is finely in bloom. It is the only flower in Britain, I believe, with nine stamens. It used to grow in the Foss, but I fear is now exterminated. I believe it grows profusely in Holland."

Again, from York, on the 6th April, 1905—

"The temperature has been down to 18 degrees on the ground and 26 degrees in the air. When the sun rose this morning, Knavesmire was one sheet of white snow. It was rather interesting that even then in the twilight the thrushes were singing in our front garden; now (ten o'clock) the sun is very bright."

. . . "On Saturday afternoon (April 1st) we were very much interested when Edith observed a swallow flying over the brick-ponds. Mamma and I went down and watched it for some time; apparently it was a sand martin, and I think it is ten or fifteen years since we saw one so early."

. . . 12th April. "Yesterday afternoon the swallows were over the brick-ponds. We have looked many times for them since the first, but have never seen any again till yesterday."

During these later years of his life little grandchildren brought a new sunshine into the home, and he received them with a tender welcome peculiarly his own. He had a great reverence for childhood. Those who knew him well can never forget the honour he rendered to every little child, his respect for its individuality, and the readiness with which he gave himself up, as if he had nothing else to do, to interesting or playing with one of his grandchildren.

After the great sorrow of John Wilhelm Rowntree's death in the Spring of 1905, he had the unexpected pleasure of a long visit from his youngest daughter, Hilda M. Robson, a Medical Missionary in India, who was obliged to return home for a much needed rest. It was a great comfort to him to watch the gradual return of strength, and a little later, to welcome her husband also.

In the spring of 1906 he gave a lecture at Manchester on "The Silence of Scripture." He referred, amongst other things, to "the scanty information given us about man's condition after

the death of the body, probably because at present we could not understand more." He added—"How notable it is that whilst one whole book of the New Testament is devoted to the acts of the Apostles, hardly any space is given to the circumstances of their deaths," and he thought it must have been intended "that Christian people should recognise that the circumstances of death are of very little account, in comparison with the character of life."

He was able to enter into the interests of the Whitsuntide Gathering of Old Scholars at York, and to preach one of his powerful sermons, but immediately afterwards he was attacked by serious illness which brought him very low. It affected the springs of nervous strength and vitality, and the consequent physical depression made his illness specially distressing. He did not escape the painful sense of failure which is the worst part of severe nervous depression.

"During my present weak state," he wrote to one of his sons —26th August, 1906, "I have been deeply sensible of the faultiness of much of my religious and philanthropic work." Still, he found comfort, when he could do little or nothing himself, in encouraging the service of others, and especially what we are in the habit of speaking of as the "humbler" kinds of service. If "the wisest word man reaches is the humblest he can speak,"—if a time of deep personal humbling and an added sense of the need of absolute dependence on Christ has again and again been the prelude and preparation for some new and blessed service for man—may it not be that when the same experience comes, as it sometimes does, even to the best and holiest, near the close of life, that this also is a preparation for some new and joyful service beyond?

Very slowly, a measure of strength came back for a time, but along with it a great sense of the uncertainty and brevity of life. After months of enforced absence from meeting, he was able in the autumn to resume his attendance, and after sitting for some weeks at the bottom of the meeting, again to take his place in the gallery, and in November, to his own surprise and the joy of his

friends, again to preach. At Christmas time he chose Whittier's *At Last* for a printed greeting to his friends.

He entered with interest into the varied engagements of the winter Quarterly Meeting at York, January, 1907, being remarkably well, for him, at the time. It was the last gathering of the Quarterly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight,* and he had it much on his heart to encourage everyone to faithfulness in quiet study of Scripture, meditation and prayer. He spoke also in one of the morning meetings for worship.

The Lord Mayor of the city died while the Quarterly Meeting was in progress, and John S. Rowntree made feeling reference to this in the business meeting, proposing the adoption of a minute expressive of the sympathy of the meeting with the Lady Mayoress and her family. A few days later he attended the funeral of the Lord Mayor, walking to the Minster in procession with his fellow Magistrates.

He greatly enjoyed the company of relatives and friends at his home during the Quarterly Meeting, and on the closing day of their visit he chose Psalm ciii. for the morning reading, and spoke with much feeling and impressiveness of the help given during the past few days, and of his sense of the privilege of the Christian fellowship they had enjoyed.

Though at times he felt weak and weary, there was no flagging in his interests.

Under date 8th February, 1907, he wrote :—

"You would be very much interested in seeing the birds in our garden trees. As our lunch finished we noticed that in one of the front holly trees were three redwings and five thrushes. The sun rose in haze over Knavesmire this morning, and I very easily saw with our common glass one spot near the horizon on the left hand side. I think many persons do not know how easy it is to see these spots with common field glasses when the sun is in mist. I have made a call at the Mount this morning. Girls have been skating on the brick ponds near our garden. I have been reading [about] "The Digger Movement" and . . . Gerard Winstanley. His chief activity was from 1649-1652. He was a Socialist, and often used the same

* Before its functions were transferred to committees.

phraseology as George Fox. But they were really very different men. Gerard Winstanley's adherents, the Diggers, maintained their right to dig and cultivate any of the common lands of England. They began to dig on St. George's Hill in Surrey."

A little later, he read the Life of Dr. Mackennal with great interest, and with a sense of much unity with Dr. Mackennal's standpoint about many things. He was also pleased with an article by Canon Scott Holland, *The Well is Deep*, in the March *Commonwealth*. The very title appealed to him as expressive of a truth, the sense of which seemed always with him.

At the end of March it seemed desirable to consult his doctor again in London. The weather was warm and spring-like. With his wife he was able to enjoy the hospitality of his sister, Hannah E. Gillett, also meeting some of his friends and visiting his daughter at Hitchin. On Easter Sunday he attended meeting for the last time, at Holloway, and spoke with power from the words—"All things are yours, whether . . . life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

In his last letter to a daughter-in-law in York, dated 3rd April, 1907, he wrote—

"I think we did right in coming. . . . Auntie surrounds one with care, and in the mornings when little showers of cards and letters from children are brought in, I have felt unworthy to be the recipient of so much thought. If I had been at home this evening I should have tried to go to the Parents' Meeting. A notice was sent us and we hope it may be a useful time."

That night he was seized with acute illness, and grew rapidly worse. He was kept in quiet peace, his thoughts turning tenderly to many whom he loved; to a young niece on the eve of her marriage, and to the home where a little grandson had arrived. He was able to talk at times to one and another of his family, and once again to testify that his only hope was in the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. On the morning of April 13th, in perfect peace, he passed away.

As we look back upon his life, the sense of a noble unity, a great and single-hearted purpose and spirit, seems to grow upon

us. He felt himself, to an extent his severest critic could not have felt, that his service was attended by much weakness and imperfection. But its purpose was clear, and ever before him.

The great conception of the mission of the Church which, in early manhood, had laid living hold upon his mind, guided his course of action through life.

He believed that every Christian organisation exists to bear witness to the truth it holds, to make this known and loved, and so to take its share in winning the world for Christ.

He had seen with sorrow that his own Church was declining because, as a body, it lacked the sense of a lofty mission, and the enthusiasm which this inspires: because it still insisted too exclusively on individual faithfulness rather than on the larger, the collective faithfulness into which this must grow and merge if it is to do the work it is meant to do in the service of the Kingdom.

He had seen, too, that mistakes in the Friends' internal organisation or "discipline" were acting most injuriously, preventing progress and calling loudly for reform. Through his first book the attention of the Society as a whole had been drawn to these mistakes, and they were afterwards remedied. Dr. Hodgkin writes:*—

> "For the great changes that have taken place, the essay of John S. Rowntree may almost be said to have given the signal; and with his deliberate wisdom and intimate knowledge of the conditions of the problem before us, he bore a large share in carrying those changes into effect."

An ominous decline in numbers was arrested, and gradually the Society began to grow.

Whilst he had pleaded for the abolition of strangling regulations as a first step for the welfare of his Church, he had felt even more deeply its need of a quickened spirit, of an adequate sense of a great heritage, and a high calling.

The desire to arouse this spirit inspired his work through life. As a reformer, an Adult School teacher, an Educationist, a

* *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, iv. 116.

member of a City Council, a Minister of the Gospel, a Quaker historian, he had used all these forms of service as means to one great end.

When he dealt with the records of the past, "making its dry bones live" for his hearers, he brought its lessons to bear upon the problems of the present, and showed how the best spirit of an earlier day lives again in every movement towards a fuller freedom and a truer progress now—that only by going forward can men be true to their past.

And not only did he show the path of progress but it was given him often, through his ministry, to quicken in others the desire and will to follow it.

His work and the work of those like-minded with him has not been in vain.

He had seen with joy, in a younger generation, and not only in his own Church, growing evidence of that eager loyalty to a human fellowship in the endeavour to fulfil a sacred mission, which he had long believed to be, in the hands of Christ, one of the most powerful instruments for the advancement of His kingdom. To see this had been the desire of his life, and for its sake his strength and influence had been freely given.

This influence was due less to any one dominant or exceptional gift than to the rare combination in him of many apparently opposite characteristics. The fervour of the prophet and the calm wisdom of the sage ; the wide vision of the historian or the statesman and the precision of the close observer of facts ; the grasp of broad principles and the power of applying them in detail ; deep reverence of spirit and manner combined with originality and humour in illustration ; the power of rule with the power to obey ; love of the past together with readiness to go forward : all these qualities were united in the character of John S. Rowntree, and all were devoted to the service of his fellow-men, which was his service for Christ.

A TESTIMONY OF YORKSHIRE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, CONCERNING JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE, A MINISTER, DECEASED.*

WE desire to record our thankfulness to God for the value and the service of a life lived amongst us which closed only on the 13th of Fourth Month (1907).

John Stephenson Rowntree was in that true apostolic succession of which he often spoke, and which has been frequently so happily known in the history of our Church.

When his father, the late Joseph Rowntree, died in 1859 in the fulness of his powers, it seemed as if the Society of Friends had lost one who was most fitted to guide it in the time of crisis which faced it in the middle of the nineteenth century. But God takes His servants to Himself and carries on their work. John Stephenson Rowntree, then twenty-five years of age, sharing his father's concern for the future of our Society, had given himself to earnest inquiry into the causes of its weakness; and the result was already before the world in *Quakerism Past and Present*, a work remarkable for the fulness of knowledge, strong common sense, and singular ripeness of judgment which it revealed. For the first time it presented the peril which threatened us as a Society, and the true way to meet it, in a form which all could understand. No one did more than our friend to change the Society's policy of fear and mistrust into one of larger hope and truer faith.

* When a Friend dies who, in the judgment of his Monthly Meeting, has been enabled to give special service to his fellow members, a record of his life is minuted. This record is forwarded to the Quarterly Meeting, and frequently to the Yearly Meeting also.—[EDITOR].

For he had developed, even then, a rare power of seeing principles in their right relation to one another, and in their practical application in Church methods and arrangements—a power which enabled him to become a true statesman in the Kingdom of Righteousness. Never misled by the fascinations of theological legalism, never accepting traditional formularies unchallenged, "he was always seeking the truth with his face towards the light." Disregarding commonplaces, he proved everything for himself, made sure of the true foundations of thought and belief, and built with confidence thereon.

From the beginning he threw himself into the work of the newly-established Adult Schools, which did so much, as he had foreseen, to break down the barriers which then divided the enclosed garden of a gathered Church from the world of men and women outside, and to arrest that decline in numbers which threatened to hurry the Society into an untimely grave.

Again in later life he was not dismayed during the time of transition which marked the close of the century. He rejoiced with loving sympathy in every manifestation of earnestness and consecration in the lives of the younger generation, looking through and beyond novel and sometimes crude expressions of religious thought, if he recognised the spirit of honest search for truth, and the desire for a fresh step forward and a new baptism of spiritual power. He had too strong a sense of the value to the Church of the work of its younger members to do anything to discourage their service. He did not waste his strength in showing up defects, but welcomed the good, abstained from negatives, and gave himself to setting forth positive truth. Therefore no one was able to be of greater service, as a trusted link between the old and the new, promoting unity of heart amid intellectual diversity.

To this great work he brought a catholicity of spirit illustrated by his love for, and very extensive knowledge of the hymns of every branch of the Christian Church. His power of wisely interpreting the experience of the past was a guide to himself and others in laying a firm foundation for the work of

the present. To his large stores of knowledge, the fruit of wide reading, was added a remarkable combination of the historical mind and the progressive spirit; and the quaint details of some forgotten controversy, illumined by an understanding sympathy and a quiet humour, were often used by him to shed a flood of light on similar problems in our own day.

The whole course of John Stephenson Rowntree's active life was a witness to that ideal of a lay Christianity for which the Society of Friends has been called to stand. To mark off certain portions of a man's daily duties, and to call them sacred and to deem other parts secular, was, to him, the greatest of heresies. He often quoted George Herbert's lines:—

"Teach me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in anything,
To do it as for Thee.

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine.
Who sweeps a room as for Thy laws,
Makes that and th' action fine."

It was in this spirit that John Stephenson Rowntree fulfilled the very varied duties of a busy life, and in every department of it his large fund of information, his experience, judgment, and insight, were freely placed at the service of his fellows, and his great powers of observation and exactitude about details were used to realise broad aims and great principles.

During his years of civic service he gave much time and thought to a laborious reorganisation of the finances of his city, as well as to a worthy representation of its dignity and hospitality when, as Lord Mayor in 1881, he welcomed the visit of the British Association. At this time also, his delight in archæological and historical research resulted in papers and addresses on the antiquities of York, in which opportunity was found for telling the legend of St. Christopher, and of the life-work of Paulinus and John Woolman, leading up to eloquent pleas for a high ideal

of citizenship and an unselfish municipal spirit, especially in the promotion of education and public health.

As regards his ever-deepening interest in the education of the children of Friends, it is difficult to say whether the Society owes most to the many days and hours he gave, through a long series of years, to the detailed work of Committees for the training of teachers and the management of the Flounders Institute and the Mount and Bootham Schools, or to his exposition on so many occasions of the great aims of education, which he desired "should fashion character after the ideals of a spiritual, a practical, and a non-sacerdotal conception of the Christian faith."

John Stephenson Rowntree's presence and words always raised the tone and earnestness of the business meetings of the Society. While fully recognising that "the Spirit alone quickeneth," he was deeply sensible of the important place of right human arrangements, and he would devote much time and thought to the consideration of subjects likely to come before the meeting, and to the work of Committees which had the arrangements in charge.

But the crown of all his work, to which more and more he devoted his life, and which all his knowledge and experience were made to help and serve, was his vocal ministry in our meetings.

He always desired for the Church a ministry that should build up and strengthen, and his own ministry was essentially one of edification, besides being in a remarkable degree one of comfort. And the gift divinely bestowed was faithfully cultivated, and thus it grew in depth and power. It was victorious even over bodily depression. He once quoted, from Wordsworth, the description of the impression made on the poet when returning home at dawn, by a sunrise on the mountains and the distant sea—

> "My heart was full; I made no vows, but vows
> Were then made for me; bond unknown to me
> Was given, that I should be, else sinning greatly,
> A dedicated spirit";

and those who heard him in our meetings felt that the secret of the life of him who spoke was that he was himself a dedicated

spirit. He was a workman for the Kingdom, who had trodden the road of the many—in business, as a citizen, as a magistrate, as a politician—and men listened and were impressed because he spoke of what he had himself known and proved, and so his word was with power. At one time he felt it laid upon him to visit all the meetings in our Quarterly Meeting, and in this service he gave of his best, even to the tiniest gatherings.

There were times when, through crushing outward sorrows or great physical infirmity, he entered very deeply into fellowship with the sufferings of his Saviour. Like Him, he sometimes found

> "No way in the desert prepared for him,
> Nor the mountains and hills made low,
> Nor the crooked straight, nor the rough ways plain,
> Where his pilgrim feet might go."

It may be that we ought to be most thankful for this, for it is doubly-tried spirits like his who can alone be both leaders of men and true comforters in times of sorest need.

PART I.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF GEORGE FOX.*

PREACHING before Oxford University in 1871, the Bampton Lecturer said :—"The Society of Friends has been able, with the most extraordinary success, to infuse the spirit and essence of George Fox's teaching into the very veins, as it were, of the modern world."†

If Thomas Carlyle is to be believed, "the most remarkable incident in modern history is not the Diet of Worms, still less the battle of Austerlitz, Waterloo, Peterloo, or any other battle; but an incident passed carelessly over by most historians, and treated with some degree of ridicule by others: namely, George Fox's making to himself a suit of leather. This man, the first of the Quakers, and by trade a shoemaker, was one of those, to whom, under ruder or purer form, the Divine idea of the Universe is pleased to manifest itself; and across all the hulls of ignorance and earthly degradation, shine through in unspeakable awfulness, unspeakable beauty, on their souls."‡

Samuel Taylor Coleridge says, "There exist folios on the human understanding and the nature of man which would have a far juster claim to their high rank and celebrity, if in the whole huge volume there could be found as much fulness of heart and intellect as burst forth in many a simple page of George Fox."§

In view of testimonies like these, which might be largely multiplied, it is remarkable that George Fox's life remains but

* A Lecture delivered at the Summer Meeting of University Extension Students in Oxford, August, 1894.

† Curteis's *Dissent in Relation to the Church of England*, 225.

‡ *Sartor Resartus*, 128.

§ *Biographia Literaria*, 69.

imperfectly understood, and the magnitude of his work inadequately appreciated. Macaulay* and Bancroft † are the only historians of the first rank who have attempted a serious discussion of his life and character, and neither has been successful.

I propose concisely to recount the outline of Fox's biography, relying primarily on his own *Journal* as my authority, and illustrating that remarkable narrative, so far as time will permit, from the abundant stores of contemporary material which are at our disposal. The story of a man's life, and the record of the work he wrought in the world, are the true basis for determining the justice of the praise, censure, or neglect with which his memory has been treated.

When James I. filled the English throne, an honest weaver was living in the little Leicestershire village of Drayton-in-the-Clay, now Fenny Drayton, one Christopher Fox—"Righteous Christer" as his neighbours called him. His like-minded wife Mary, "an upright woman and accomplished above most of her degree," came of a family named Lago, which cherished the memory of martyred ancestors. Their son George was born in the summer of 1624. He had a brother and sister, whether more we cannot say, the parish registers being defective. The family owned some property, but it does not appear that the children enjoyed educational advantages beyond those furnished by the careful parental teaching of a Puritan home. Within its grave surroundings George grew up, a pure, truthful, earnest boy, with but small concernment in the sports of childhood, conscientiously fearful of offending God, and solicitous to deal faithfully towards men. Hence his relatives would have made him a clergyman; but the project was overruled, and he entered the service of a shoemaker, who was also shepherd, grazier, and wool-merchant. Here he acquired that familiarity with affairs which never deserted him.

But his spirit was not at rest. He was not passing through deep convictions for sin from a sense of personal guilt, like those through which his contemporary, John Bunyan, travelled, and has

* *Hist. of England*, iii., 24-30. † *Hist. of United States*, iii., 16.

so vividly described in the pages of *Grace Abounding*. Fox was thirsting for God, and sharing in that unrest which Augustine has declared, in the opening sentence of his *Confessions*, to be the lot of all hearts until they find rest in God.* He was approaching manhood in the memorable years which preceded and immediately followed the meeting of the Long Parliament. The Scriptures, in the nervous English of the authorised version, were everywhere in the hands of the people, now deeply stirred by the flowing tide of Puritanism. Religion was the prime matter of debate wherever men fore-gathered, in market, tavern, or church, in the cottages of the peasantry or in the manor houses of the gentry. The outcome of this religiousness was, however, unsatisfying to Fox's tender spirit. He wanted to see more of Christlike character as the fruit of Christian doctrine. He wanted to know Christ's gospel as glad tidings to his own innermost soul, and as glad tidings to the common people around him, redeeming them from the bondage and degradation of sin, and easing the hard lot of the poor, the oppressed, and the ignorant. A heavenly voice seemed to whisper to him—"Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and be as a stranger unto all."† So in the summer days of 1643, not long after swords had been crossed at Edgehill, whilst Baxter was writing *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, and Jeremy Taylor *The Liberty of Prophesying*, Fox, now in his twentieth year, left his home on a quest for truth and peace. He visited Lutterworth, rich in its associations with John Wycliffe, whose spiritual conceptions of Christianity were now, after a lapse of three centuries, to find fresh expression at the hands of this young searcher after truth. Here, as at Northampton, Newport Pagnell, Barnet and London, Fox talked with all sorts and conditions of religious professors, asking from them the way of peace for which his soul was craving. He cannot have been happy in

* Tu .. Domine .. fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te. (*Conf.* I. i.)

† *Journal* (1891, 2 vol. edn.), i., 3.

the men he met with. They advised him to marry, to sing, to smoke tobacco. Whether he talked to Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Ranter, or those he styles the Separate preachers, their diagnosis of his spiritual trouble was inadequate; their counsel appertained too much to that which was external. Some three years were occupied in these spiritual conflicts. Throughout their duration, Fox was a tireless student of Scripture. His knowledge was so full and accurate, it was afterwards said that were the Bible to be lost, its contents might have been recovered from his retentive memory.* More than 240 chapters in Scripture are quoted from in the *Journal*, and a student of his other works is said to have noted more than 400 references in all from different chapters. Troubled as Fox's own mind was, he wisely tried to increase the happiness of others. At Christmas time he sought out poor widows on whom to bestow his bounty; and when his humble friends invited him to their weddings, though he might be absent from the nuptial ceremony, he was wont to call on the bride and bridegroom the following day, and to cheer them with seasonable gifts; for, as he says, "I had wherewith both to keep myself from being chargeable to others, and to administer something to the necessities of those who were in need."†

After a prolonged period of mental conflict, Fox recognised the dawning of light upon his soul. Truths of which he can hardly have been entirely ignorant, but which he does not seem to have appropriated as his own before the spring of 1646, then assumed in his view a pregnant significance. He now realised (1) that true Christian believers were only those who had passed from death to life by virtue of a spiritual birth; (2) that it was by a spiritual endowment and not by "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge" that men were qualified to be ministers of Christ; and (3) that God dwelt not in temples made with hands, but in human hearts.‡ At last he emerged from the clouds in which he had been so long enveloped. I had better give his own

* Gerard Croese's *History of the Quakers*, 14. † *Journal*, i., 7.

‡ *Journal*, i., 7, 8.

narrative of the event. It was the crisis of his spiritual history :—

" As I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people ; for I saw there was none among them all, that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do : then, O then, I heard a voice which said : ' There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.' And when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition ; namely, that I might give Him all the glory. For all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been ; that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it ? And this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing."*

Thus the search after peace, in which Fox had been so long engrossed, had ended in his being brought to a strong personal realisation of the nearness of the living Spirit of Christ to his own soul, as Teacher, Guide, Ruler, and Comforter, as well as Saviour and Redeemer. With the patriarch Job, he virtually exclaimed, " I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee." The accidents of the heavenly vision vary, but its essence is unaltered from age to age. In New Testament language, Fox had come to a vivid perception that " the kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost ; "† that " the kingdom of God is within you‡ ; " that "I"—the Christ—" am with you alway."§ This was the conviction which changed distress into rapture. When Fox went forth to preach, this was the cardinal doctrine which differentiated his teaching from

* *Journal*, i., 11-12. † Romans xiv. 17. ‡ Luke xvii. 21.
§ Matt. xxviii. 20.

that of the religionists around him. It may excite surprise that such should have been the case, though opponents and converts concur in affirming that it was so.

It was only a few years later that Milton invoked for his immortal poem the aid of that

> "Spirit that dost prefer
> Before all temples th' upright heart and pure—"

yet John Bunyan seems to have been no less astonished than Fox—who "stranged at it"—on discovering that he had "been overrun with superstition" in deeming sacred buildings and persons as the necessary vehicles of Divine grace, oblivious of the immediate operation of the Divine Spirit on the human heart.*

The explanation must be sought for in the prevailing condition of English thought in reference to religion. When the Lutheran Reformation broke up the repose of Europe, it partially shattered the idea that religion was the exclusive possession of a vast sacerdotal corporation, from which grace was to be doled out to the laity. The right of private judgment, triumphantly reasserted by Luther and his colleagues, carried with it the recognition of direct responsibility to the Divine will as manifested in the individual conscience; but it did not dissipate the ingrained idea of the possibility of performing religious acts by proxy. Again, in ceasing to be the exclusive affair of priests, religion did not cease to be an instrument in the hands of statesmen, for the furtherance of schemes of State policy. Queen Elizabeth's ministers determined on the retention or abolition of holy days, from considerations based on the relation of those fasts to the consumption of fish, and the relation of the consumption of fish to the supply of sailors for the navy. Then, as Curteis says, hardly too strongly, "The theology of the day, from the Reformation onwards, had been a mere play of logic and word-fence around the profoundest subjects. The reign of scholasticism had never really come to an end. Words and

* See Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, quoted in F. S. Turner's *The Quakers*, 3.

notions, not things and facts, had been hitherto the subject of endless, weary, unprofitable controversy."* The man whose life we are discussing cannot be rightly understood, without constant reference to the environment in which he had been brought up, and the condition of English religious thought in the days of the Long Parliament.

The years 1647-8 were spent by George Fox in a state of spiritual fervour—rising now and again into ecstasy—that contrasted strongly with the gloom, and even the misery, which had preceded them. St. Paul showed his inspired wisdom in leaving untold his experiences in the seventh heaven. The highest tides of spiritual life known by the human soul are phenomena which the intellect is impotent to explain. It must be confessed that in these years Fox describes some "openings" of truth, as he phrases them, the significance of which is not apparent. For a while it was uncertain whither this state of spiritual exaltation would lead him. Wordsworth has sung of that "serene and blessed mood" when,

> "With an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things."

In such an hour young Fox bethought himself of practising physic for the good of mankind. "The creation was opened to me"; the physicians were "out of the wisdom of God," but might be reformed.† His mind was at times impelled to excursions in the mystical regions explored by Jacob Behmen. But it was not for long. His native sobriety of thought re-asserted its dominion, and the conviction grew stronger that he had a prophet's message, which it would be his life's work to deliver. He laboured to bring men immediately to Christ.

When we reach the end of Fox's life, it will be the time to consider whether he bore the commission of a prophet, or whether he was, as Macaulay says, an enthusiast, suffering from illusions after the fashion of Joanna Southcote or Ludowick Muggleton.

* *Dissent*, 252. † *Journal*, i., 28, 29.

But it may be observed here, that the office of a prophet has never been wont to carry with it a total exemption from human infirmity. Of the New Testament prophets, none possessed stronger credentials than the Apostles Peter and Paul, but the former found in the writings of his beloved brother things hard to be understood, whilst the same beloved brother found in the conduct of his fellow Apostle, that which called for weighty censure. We may deem George Fox one of the prophets of Christendom, without being required to approve all that he did, or understand all that he wrote, or concur in all that he taught.* He may for instance have mistaken his commission when he pulled off his shoes and walked barefoot through Lichfield, denouncing woe on the "bloody city."† Luther's example in hurling his inkstand at the prince of the power of the air is not one calling for imitation, but it does not prevent us from recognising Luther as a prophet, and a ruler of men.

In the years which immediately succeeded the illumination of Fox's spiritual horizon, the practical requirements of the central doctrine he had to proclaim, in their relation to human life and conduct, shaped themselves before his mental and spiritual vision. An author like Macaulay finds Fox's doctrine and practice novel, capricious, and inconsequential, if not utterly absurd. Less prejudiced students have observed with surprise that whilst not a little of his teaching was in sharper antagonism with Calvinistic Puritanism than with Anglicanism, he yet adopted so many Puritan usages. This has led some writers to affirm that there was little or nothing novel in his views, that he merely taught that which he had learnt from others. The true explanation we take to be this: Fox had been trained and reared in a Puritan environment. He rose up to protest against so much of Puritanism as ran counter to the tenet of the Inward Light, and to that whole spiritual conception of Christianity which he associated with it. But just as he retained the thoughts, usages, and speech of an English shepherd when

* *Dissent*, 253, 254. Marsden's *Later Puritans*, 238, 239.

† *Journal*, i., 78.

he became a preacher, so he retained the thoughts, usages, and doctrine of an English Puritan, except in those matters wherein he definitely rejected the Puritan faith. Whilst Quakerism was a protest against Puritanism, in another aspect it was its very flower and crown. Whilst the early Quaker preachers were in collision with the Presbyterian and Independent clergy rather than the Episcopalian, the Society of Friends became the residuary legatee of various minor scruples entertained by their Puritan antagonists. The objection to the use of the ring in marriage, the disuse of the term Saint, the disregard of ancient ecclesiastical festivals passed over to the Friends without challenge. On the other hand the excessive observance of the Sabbath, satirised in *Hudibras*, was relinquished, as being out of harmony with the universality of that grace which consecrated all times and seasons.

Points of close resemblance existed between the teachings of Fox and those of men who had preceded him, like Tauler, Wycliffe, Colet, Erasmus, Menno Simons, John Smyth and various companies of Baptists.* The opinions of these men were in the air, so to speak; they grouped themselves, sometimes in an accentuated form, round one central idea, and the result, in the hands of a powerful exponent, was a presentation of Christian faith and practice which undoubtedly impressed both adherents and opponents as being something very different from what they had before known.

Before entering on the details of Fox's active life, it will be well to note a little more closely that which he was going to teach. An internal, spiritual kingdom involves the constant presence of the King with His subjects, hence the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the human heart. As the kingdom is universal, so the operations of the Light of Christ are wide as the family of man. That family owns one Parent—the Father of spirits; its members are brethren, sharing an equality

* See Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*; Tallack's *George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists*; Brown's *Life of Bunyan* (early chapters).

of spiritual rights and privileges, each invested with the obligation to minister to his fellows in a reciprocity of helpful offices. In modern phraseology, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man was the idea which had taken possession of Fox's whole nature.

In his own apprehension it had been after the failure of human instrumentality that Fox himself had come into a personal, soul-satisfying knowledge of God. Now, in turn, he longed that others might be brought into the same immediate relation with the Eternal, rather than mediately through priest, sacrament or book. "The Father of Life drew me to his Son by His Spirit."* He was to turn people to that inward Light, Spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God; even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which he was assured would never deceive any. "The Lord God opened to me by his invisible power that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ; and I saw it shine through all; and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it."†

Fox's apprehension of Christianity being spiritual and ethical rather than dogmatic, he was in some respects in closer affinity with Colet and More‡ than with Luther and Calvin, with St. John than with St. Paul. His teaching was characterised by the strength of absolute conviction; it came from the heart and conscience more than from the intellect. There was no room in his nature for merely pious opinions: he would have died for every item of his faith. He was entirely Pauline in his appreciation of the Gospel as a power, moulding the heart, mind and conscience. His teaching made no compromise with the weaknesses of human nature; it touched life at every point. The attempt to analyse may confuse rather than elucidate, but, speaking generally, it will be found that the influence of this teaching made itself felt in three principal directions:—(1) upon individual and social conduct; (2) as affecting ecclesiastical polity

* *Journal*, i., 12.

† *Journal*, i., 34.

‡ See Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*.

and worship ; and (3) in influencing the relations of the individual to the State, and to the institutions of society : *e.g.*, war, slavery, religious disabilities.

(1) *Individual and social conduct.*—The constant reference of all conduct to an internal and ever-present Guide made life even more intense than it had been to the Puritan. This intensity had a tendency to narrow the range of human interests, whilst it dignified the position of the individual, making him independent and self-reliant, as well as prepared to honour all men without distinction of earthly rank, since all were the subjects of a heavenly illumination and a universal redemption. What Macaulay says, generally, of the Puritan was eminently true of Fox ; before civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries he never forgot that he, like every Christian man, was "noble by right of an earlier creation, a priest by the imposition of a mightier hand." Such doctrine was distinctively democratic. As he protested against all ecclesiastical usages which seemed to interfere with the virtual equality of men in presence of the Eternal, so he discarded usages which marked the distinctions of rank in the social scale. The wealthy were then addressed with the plural pronoun, the poor with the singular. Fox impartially used the singular pronouns, thee and thou, in addressing all men, from the beggars he relieved on the highways, to his friend the Lord Protector, or his sovereign Charles Stuart. In other respects he became a grammatical reformer. Then, he adopted the Baptist scruple against denominating the days of the week and months of the year by names derived from heathen divinities. He was constantly teaching that a building of brick or stone was not a Church, but the people who worshipped in it, and in whose hearts dwelt the Spirit of God. The building was a "steeple house." The Scriptures were the words of God, not the word of God—Christ was the Word of God. Theological terms like "Trinity," not occurring in Scripture, were avoided. This dominating thought of the universal obligation to entire truthfulness in speech and conduct also found expression in an unconquerable objection to every form of swearing, including

strictly judicial oaths. The Baptists had taught the same doctrine at an earlier day, but it was now elevated into a position it had not before occupied. Many sufferers gave up their liberty, and some their lives, rather than violate what they apprehended to be the Divine prohibition of every form of swearing. In view of the Divine majesty, all earthly distinctions faded into insignificance. The uncovering of the head was reserved for the definite approach of man to his Creator in prayer. Before all his fellowmen Fox stood covered; nor would he bow to them, or address them in forms of speech he deemed adulatory.

His views of human life were—especially at the outset of his ministry—narrow, and deeply coloured by the Puritan atmosphere in which he had been cradled. He deprecated the study of music, the ownership of pictures, and the games of children, as well as the amusements of older people.* There was little place in his own natural character, or in the spirit of his early education, for the festal element in life. He lifted up his voice and pen against wakes, fairs, the tricks of mountebanks, may-poles, and star-gazing,—presumably astrology. He was a sumptuary reformer. He did not enjoin a uniform in dress but he testified against its extravagances.

(2) *Ecclesiastical polity and worship.* Fox's sense of God's majesty, holiness, love, and constant nearness to man led him to protest against institutions which to him seemed to interfere with the direct operations of the Holy Ghost in the human heart. Hence he went further than any previous reformer in discarding rite and ceremony in the public services of religion. In view of the universal priesthood of Christian believers, he saw no place

* "Q. Father, May not I follow games and pleasures, and make jests and Rhimes, and go to Dancing, and Fidlers and Wakes, and Bowls, and Matches at Footbal, and playing at Cudgels, and take pleasure in these things?"

"A. Nay Child, For this is a taking pleasure in the flesh; and this is that birth that persecuteth the Spirit; and this is that which is from the light, which witnesseth of Christ. . . . Now he that believeth in the light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, he comes to witness the birth not born of the flesh, which taketh pleasure in the Lord; and those pleasures that do but recreate the flesh, and the birth born of the flesh he denies," &c.—*A Catechisme for Children*, by G. F., 1660, p. 44.

for a sacerdotal order, resented its assumption to the possession of exclusive spiritual functions, and in short would have obliterated the distinction of clergy and laity. His treatment of symbolic rites was in harmony with the general position just indicated. Not finding the term sacraments within the covers of his Bible,* he turned away from the debate between Romanist and Protestant as to whether these rites were to be seven or two, and taught that, without external symbols, the verities shadowed forth in acts called sacramental, whether two, seven, or a hundred, were to be known spiritually by every true-hearted disciple of Christ. The institution of the Christian ministry, the continuance of spiritual gifts, and the need for officers in the Church, he always upheld, beseeching men, and women also, to be faithful in the exercise of every spiritual gift bestowed upon them. He urged the words, "Freely ye have received, freely give," as an argument for free liberal service on the one hand, whilst he pleaded them on the other as a reason for refusing the payment of ecclesiastical charges, like tithes and church-rates.

The place he assigned to woman is noteworthy. The Roman Catholic Church had hailed the services of saintly women, sometimes made them abbesses in their lives, and canonised them after death. The Protestant Churches had been less wise. Fox insisted that the call to the Christian ministry had come direct to daughters as to sons, on the day of Pentecost, and that this was not a passing incident. Having admitted women to the ministry, he also assigned them their own special place and function in Church government, maintaining this position at a later period of his life with great spirit and pertinacity in the face of strenuous opposition from many of his own friends.

(3) *The relation of the individual to the State, and to social institutions; e.g., war, slavery, religious disabilities.* The sense of immediate accountability to God, which the doctrine of the Inward Light quickened, made Fox a strenuous advocate of the rights of conscience. Rendering to Cæsar the things he deemed to be Cæsar's, he denied absolutely the right of the State to in-

* *Catechisme for Children*, 121.

tervene between man and his Maker, in matters of conscientious belief and practice. Hence, as we shall see, religious toleration became the object of a life and death struggle to George Fox and his friends. Believing himself to be living under a spiritual rule which removed the very roots and causes of war, he sought its total abolition through the subjection of the whole human family to the spiritual rule of the Prince of Peace. When the institution of negro slavery presented itself as a practical problem to be dealt with, his faith that every man, without distinction of race, was the subject of a Divine illumination, and of a universal redemption, prompted him to urge emancipation as the ultimate issue of domestic servitude. Similar considerations led him to demand just treatment for the Red Indians of America, and their instruction in the Christian faith.

In 1649—the same year that brought Charles I. to the scaffold—Fox entered upon his public ministry in the Midland district of England. As an evangelist he sowed beside all waters: in the open-air, at market crosses, or under venerable trees, in the mansions of the great, in the cottages of the poor, he was equally at home. His influence over crowds as well as over individuals was remarkable. At this period of his life he often spoke in the churches. The first chapter of *Woodstock*, professedly referring to the September of 1652, has familiarised Sir Walter Scott's readers with the fact that public worship as conducted in the churches, 1642-1662, was widely different from that which has now been familiar to Englishmen for two centuries. Proceedings which would now constitute the offence of brawling were of constant occurrence in the times of the Commonwealth. Readers of his *Journal* will observe that Fox was many times invited to speak in the churches, also that on almost every occasion on which he was arrested for interfering with public worship, the offence alleged against him was the doctrine preached, not the act of speaking in itself.

His first imprisonment at Nottingham was not of long duration. It arose out of his interruption of the preacher in the course of his sermon—a proceeding which impartial readers will

disapprove, even accepting Fox's own version of the transaction However, he quickly made friends with the Sheriff and others in authority, who recognised his evident sincerity, as well as his intense earnestness. At Derby, in the winter of 1650, he was committed for blasphemy, the charge being founded on the words he spoke after the minister had finished. He inserts in his *Journal* a copy of his commitment, signed by Jervase Bennet, who gave Fox and his followers the nickname of "Quakers," because the Justice had been bidden to tremble at the word of the Lord. This imprisonment was not without its picturesque incidents. The prisoner was permitted to take exercise by walking unattended for a mile from the house of correction. His gaoler recognised the spiritual power of the young man under his charge, and became a convert. Fox was strongly urged here to join the Parliamentary army and accept a captaincy, but steadfastly refused; "for I lived," said he, "in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."* Familiarity with the interior of a prison suggested enlightened reflections upon prison discipline. He wrote very sensible letters against the imposition of the death penalty for stealing cattle, and small sums of money; against keeping prisoners long untried; and against the corruption engendered by the indiscriminate herding together of criminals.

At the outset of Fox's ministry, he did not desire or anticipate that another denomination, a fresh ecclesiastical organisation, would grow out of his labours. So far as he shaped to himself a picture of the desired outcome of his ministry, it probably was a national reformation in the social and religious condition of the people. As years passed, and a great body of adherents was drawn together, Fox's life and teaching became largely identified with the progress of the new Society.† It is, therefore, the more

* *Journal*, i., 68.

† Although the word "Society" is used to designate those associated together in worship and work at this early period, the reader should note what the author has just stated, and that it was not until 1737, forty-seven years after Fox's death, that there was any formal membership among the Friends.—[EDITOR.].

interesting to observe in these early days how catholic were his aims as a social reformer. He tells us how he pleaded with magistrates for a just administration of the law; with publicans not to sell more drink to their customers than was for their good; with traders in fairs to be honest, truthful, and to do unto others as they would have others do to them; with parents and schoolmasters to train up children in a sober, God-fearing life. He visited the statute hirings—"mops" as he calls them—to urge the magistrates to fix the rate of wages fairly, to give, in short, "a living wage."

We have already remarked upon a similarity of view between Fox and the Oxford Reformers of 1496-1519, in so far as both apprehended Christianity on its ethical, rather than its dogmatic side, and we shall have occasion later on to comment upon the attitude of both towards religious toleration. The similarity of their sentiments upon many social questions, as well as upon minor points of custom and ritual, is very marked. This resemblance was probably quite accidental, except in so far as sanctified common sense conducted to identical conclusions men who by different causes had been liberated from ecclesiastical and social prepossessions. Fox's mind may have been influenced from the outside, in some directions, to an extent he was not conscious of. He had an uncle residing in London, a Mr. Pickering, a Baptist, through whom he probably made acquaintance with some Baptist views and practices, which he afterwards adopted.* The laborious author of the *Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* has suggested, with much probability, ways in which mystical writers like Tauler, Menno and Behmen may have influenced Fox,† but I am not aware of any evidence that he had read *Utopia*, the sermons of Colet, or the works of Erasmus. If he had done so, he would have discovered many passages in which his own thoughts were excellently

* Compare *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, Chap. ix., &c.

† Ibid., 124. Tallack's *George Fox, the Friends, and Early Baptists*, chap. iii., &c.

expressed.* For instance, the following sentence from the *Utopia*, on the contrariety between professed Christian practice and the precepts of Christ, is eminently Foxian in thought and style :— "If we must let alone everything as absurd and extravagant, which, by reason of the wicked lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us : though He has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which He taught in secret. The greatest parts of His precepts are more disagreeing to the lives of the men of this age, than any part of my discourse has been : but the preachers seem to have learned that craft to which you advise me ; for they, observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted His doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives ; that so some way or other they might agree with one another." †

Though Colet was Dean of Westminster, he hated and denounced covetousness and simony in sacred offices with an energy that has been rarely exceeded. Preaching before Convocation, in 1512, he said, "Covetousness, this most horrible plague, has so taken possession of the hearts of nearly all priests, and has so darkened the eyes of their minds, that now-a-days we are blind to everything, but that alone which seems to be able to

* Amongst the last words of Erasmus are these :—"Some think that God is only to be found in the cloister. I think he is to be found, universal as the sun, lighting the world. He is to be found in the palaces of princes, and in the soldier's camp. He is to be found in the trireme of the sailor, and *in every pious heart*. . . . Know then, oh ! Christian, thy true dignity, not acquired by thy merit, but given thee from heaven. I am speaking to thee, whether thou art a man or a woman, young or old, rich or poor, noble or ignoble, a king, a peasant, or a weaver ; and I tell thee, whoever thou art, if thou art born again in Christ, thou art a king ! thou art a priest ! thou art a saint ! thou art the temple of the living God ! Dost thou gaze in wonder at a temple of marble shining with gems and gold ? Thou art a temple more precious than this ! Dost thou regard as sacred the temple that bishops have consecrated ? Thou art more sacred still ! Thou art not anointed only with sacerdotal oil ; thou art anointed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb." . . . "Each in his own Temple," Erasmus goes on to say, "we must sacrifice our evil passions and our own wills—offer up our lives and hearts—if we would at last be translated into the heavenly temple, there to reign with Christ, to whom be glory and thanksgiving for ever ! "

† *Utopia*, Macvean's ed., 1821, 62.

bring us gain. For in these days, what else do we seek for in the Church than rich benefices and promotions? In these same promotions, what else do we count upon but their fruits and revenues? We rush after them with such eagerness, that we care not how many and what duties, or how great advowsons we take, if only they have great revenues."* A hundred and thirty-seven years later Fox writes, "The earthly spirit of the priests wounded my life. . . . Oh! the vast sums of money that are gotten by the trade of selling the Scriptures and by preaching, from the highest bishop to the lowest priest."† And in numerous other passages he liberates his soul in the same strain, many will think with undue vehemence and without sufficiently remembering that "the labourer is worthy of his hire."

More and Fox were of one mind in their aversion to idleness, and in their wish to abolish begging.‡ Colet risked the displeasure of Henry VIII. through the boldness with which he denounced war. More and Fox argue on almost identical lines against punishing theft and minor offences with the capital penalty. In other particulars, smaller and larger, which I have time only to catalogue, the ideal state of Utopia resembled that which Fox hoped might be established in every land. More provided no lawyers

* Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, 166.

† *Journal*, i., 41.

‡ "Perhaps there was no feature in Fox's character more strongly developed than his strong conviction that the neglect of the poor in the times in which he lived was a disgrace to Christendom. He laboured not only in his public ministry and by the press, but he petitioned Parliament to this effect:—'Let all the poor people, blind, and lame, and cripples, be provided for in this nation, that there might not be a beggar in England, nor England's dominions.' He tells them that the practice of the Jews and the early Christian Church 'doth condemn this nation's practice;' where there are 'so many beggars.' He suggests that 'neither beggar, nor blind people, nor fatherless, nor widows, nor cripples go a-begging up and down the streets, but that a house may be provided for them, and meat,' and tells them to 'mind Christ's doctrine.' 'You that are called Christians,' he writes, in an address to the Protector and Parliament, 'take heed and see that there be no beggars amongst you.' 'Want often brings them to steal.' They that are rich should 'prevent temptation, or take them into some employment, and this shows the nobility of the Christian's life.' A suggestion was also made for a Government registration of employers requiring labour, and the workmen out of employ in every market town."—Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 517, 518.

in Utopia: the citizens of that country greeted one another without bowing; their dress changed not, as there were no fashions; the wearing of jewels was confined to children; there were no taverns; no time was spent in hunting. The public worship in More's ideal republic included a period of silence, women were sometimes priests, men and women sat on different sides of the church.

We left Fox in Derby gaol, where he remained about a year. On his liberation he at once resumed his travels, and, according to his own account, the fame of the man in leather breeches was much spread abroad. As the proofs of his own influence multiplied, his faith in the power of any truly consecrated man or woman increased. Such an one would be able to shake the country for ten miles round.*

Fox was an incessant labourer.† His missionary travels at a later period extended to the Continent of Europe, to Ireland, the West Indies, and the American Colonies. In Great Britain almost every town and hundreds of villages were the scenes of his diligent labours, preaching, arguing, and disputing with opposers. His *Journal* obviously records but a small proportion of his visits, but upwards of 1,200 can be traced through its pages.

In the course of this itinerant ministry, Fox came, in the winter of 1652, to Ulverston, on the shores of Morecambe Bay. Hard by stood Swarthmoor Hall, the residence of Thomas Fell —Judge Fell as he was commonly called by virtue of a Welsh judgeship which he held,—a successful barrister and the owner of an ample estate. His wife Margaret possessed a powerful mind, her sympathies were wide and generous, her spiritual susceptibilities keenly sensitive. She and her children hospitably entertained Fox in the absence of the Judge, and full opportunity was given him to preach, and to defend his doctrine in argument against the clerical friends of the family. The Judge never joined in religious profession with the Friends, but he used his influence to protect them from their persecutors to the time of his death in 1658, whilst his wife and most of his household actively espoused

* *Journal*, i., 109. † Sewel's *History of the Quakers* (1799 edn.), i., 81.

the message which Fox had brought them. His association with the Swarthmoor Hall family introduced him into a wider social sphere than that in which he had previously moved. No other religious leader of equal eminence since the days of the Apostles has owed so little to school or college as did Fox. If we recall the names of the Fathers, from Polycarp to Jerome, or recur to the founders of the monastic orders, to the Protestant reformers in Germany, France, and Britain, or to the fathers of Methodism, we observe that with hardly an exception they were men who had received a good education. Fox's up-bringing had been in the cottage. He had never trodden the halls of ancient universities. To his self-education, to his reception of truth at first hand, he owed much of his independence and originality of character. On the other hand, it had made his outlook upon human life a restricted one. At Swarthmoor Hall he mixed with a family, influential through position and culture, as well as through natural force of character. In this home, where he was so gladly welcomed, his own nature broadened out, and the old hall in Furness became, for the remainder of his life, a head-quarters to which he could resort for rest, and from which the labours of his colleagues in the ministry were assisted and directed.*

No part of Great Britain received Fox's message more kindly than did North Lancashire, Westmorland, and the Yorkshire dales.† Largely drawn from these districts, came a band of not fewer than sixty preachers, mostly young men, yeomen farmers, and artisans, who joined with Fox in an active propaganda of the doctrines of which he had become the apostle. Edward Burrough‡ and Francis Howgill,‡ the latter of whom had been

* See Webb's *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, chap. vii., &c.; also *Inner Life*, 268.

† See *Journal Friends' Historical Society*, v. 3-10, for an account of the close connection between the Preston Patrick and Swaledale Separatist communities and the rise of Friends.—[Editor.]

‡ Edward Burrough, brought up as a member of the Episcopal Church, afterwards joined the Presbyterians. In 1652 he became a zealous labourer among Friends, and, with Francis Howgill, was the chief instrument in developing the work in London. His writings fill a folio of 829 pages. On his death in Newgate in 1662, at the age of twenty-eight years, George Fox issued a short address to the Society, in order to calm the minds of

educated for the ministry, as also Christopher and Thomas Taylor,§ proved the sincerity of their convictions by joining the new Society, and sharing in the cup of suffering which its members had to drink. Richard Farnsworth,‡ James Nayler‡, and William Dewsbury‡ were amongst the large group of Parliamentary soldiers who renounced carnal weapons and became the ambassadors of a gospel of peace. Through the labour of these north country preachers the doctrine of the Inward Light was accepted by thousands of persons, particularly in London, Bristol, Norwich, and Colchester.

As converts multiplied, they found themselves separated from their fellow men by doctrinal differences, and still more so by the every-day practices and the religious observances resulting therefrom, and they drew together by a law of spiritual affinity. Some bond of internal organisation was essential, if the new community was to develop, or even hold together, in harmony with its fundamental conceptions. We have seen that one of these was that human life throughout its whole course should be released from sacerdotalism. All life was to be religious, but the services of the priest were to be dispensed with at birth, marriage, and burial, as well as in the conduct of public worship. It was a remarkable triumph in legislation, that Fox succeeded in erecting

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Friends. Francis Howgill, a University graduate, was an Independent minister at the time of George Fox's first visit to Yorkshire and Westmorland. He was convinced at Firbank, and spent the remainder of his life in working and suffering with Friends. He died in Appleby Gaol in 1676. See page 198.—[EDITOR.]

§ Thomas Taylor was educated at Oxford and had a benefice at Richmond, Yorkshire, in which county chiefly he laboured. He underwent imprisonments at Appleby, York, Lancaster, Derby, and Stafford. Christopher Taylor (brother) also worked in Yorkshire. Later, he kept boarding-schools at Waltham Abbey and Edmonton. He died in Pennsylvania.—[EDITOR.]

‡ Richard Farnsworth was convinced at Balby by George Fox in 1651: "a man of a notable gift" (Sewel). He was present at the continuous three days' meeting at Malton in 1653. James Nayler was born in Ardsley parish, Wakefield, about 1616, and joined Friends in 1651. William Dewsbury was born near Pocklington. His biographer, Whiting, says: "He was an extraordinary man in many ways, and I thought as exact a pattern of a perfect man as ever I knew." He became the principal leader of Yorkshire Quakerism. About nineteen years were spent in prison, and an illness contracted there caused his death at Warwick in 1688.—[EDITOR].

a marriage ceremonial, religious but not sacerdotal, the validity of which was recognised by the English Courts of Law so early as 1661. He surrounded it with safeguards for publicity, order, and registration, guarding it on the one hand from the fanatical violence of some of his own friends, who complained that he restricted their spiritual liberty, and, on the other hand, vindicating it against the malevolence of opponents. The same efficient system of registration was applied to births and burials, and is continued to the present day, though, after lasting nearly two centuries, its *raison d'être* was very much removed by the General Registration Act of 1836. Unable to bury according to their own usages in the national churchyards, the Friends acquired burial grounds of their own, to quite a remarkable extent, in this practical way obtaining a measure of religious liberty in the burial of the dead, which the Burials Act of 1880 extended to the national cemeteries.*

In 1656, Fox had to deplore the fall of one of his lieutenants —James Nayler, who had become a fluent and eloquent preacher. Spiritual pride turned his head, under the foolish adulation of foolish women, who paid him divine honours, at once grotesque and blasphemous. The case was taken up by Parliament with incredible zeal, and ultimately a punishment of such savage cruelty was inflicted upon the poor man, that it is wonderful he survived it. His penitence was as sincere as his fall had been grievous. His forgiveness of his tormentors was expressed in words of exceptional pathos and beauty. Throughout the course of this transaction, Fox's wisdom and magnanimity are strongly brought out. He was amongst the first to warn Nayler of his danger, but the caution was unheeded, and a storm of obloquy fell upon the young Society. When Nayler's repentance was manifest, his former friends received him back into their communion. From this date, however, the student of Fox's writings

* It has been suggested that Fox was influenced in the keeping of registers by his father having acted as churchwarden (*Journal Friends' Historical Society* iii., 89); and that his ideas on registration and marriage procedure were partly derived from his knowledge of *The Directory for the Public Worship of God* (1649), which was supplied to every parish.—[Editor.]

observes that he becomes more sensitive to the maintenance of "the form of sound words,"

> "Outward letter and inward light
> Keeping the balance of truth aright."

Fox records an interview with Cromwell in 1654, and another four years later, just before the Protector's death. On the first occasion, Colonel Hacker, apprehensive that his prisoner might be concerned in plots against the Government, had sent Fox from Leicestershire to London under the charge of Captain Drury. Fox readily cleared himself of this suspicion in a written document, as well as in a conversation with Cromwell, characteristic of the two men, ending in a hospitable invitation from Oliver that he should come again to his house, "for if thou and I were but an hour a day together we should be nearer one to another." But Fox adds that he would not eat of the Protector's bread, nor drink his drink, which called forth the comment—"Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices or places, but all other sects and people I can."*

It has frequently been stated, and correctly so, that Cromwell was a friend of religious toleration. The sufferings of the Friends under his rule were however very severe.† An official document drawn up in the reign of James II. states that during the rule of the Commonwealth and of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, 3179 Friends "suffered imprisonments, stockings, whippings, loss of goods, and other abuses"; whilst 79 died in prison of bad usage. Macaulay's essay on Milton and the great poet's noble sonnet

* *Journal*, i., 210.

† "The Protector has been represented as the friend of religious liberty; and so, in some instances, he certainly showed himself; but the Quakers derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conscience. For, though he himself did not openly disturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices, yet those who acted under his authority grievously persecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power, and was repeatedly and earnestly solicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a spirit of hatred and animosity against this people: and the Protector, it is supposed, might be fearful of disobliging them, by animadverting on their oppressive measures: or he might consider the Quakers as too contemptible or too pacific a body to fear any danger from, even under the greatest provocations." (Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Toulmin's edn., iii. 417.)

on the Vaudois persecution have made Cromwell's intervention on behalf of those oppressed people one of the best known circumstances in his career. It is not, however, so well known that at the time when he was appointing a national fast, and inviting subscriptions for the aid of persecuted Continental Protestants, a thousand Friends were languishing in the gaols of England. In reply to the Protector's proclamation, Fox issued one of his manifestoes, expressing the willingness of himself and his friends to contribute to the national collection for the needs of the sufferers in Bohemia, Poland, and Savoy, and then pertinently saying to his countrymen, "while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others' cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eyes upon yourselves and see what ye are doing at home."*

Fox was a prisoner at Carlisle in 1653. Two years later he was for eight months kept in Doomsdale, a dungeon in Launceston gaol, so horrid that Sir James Mackintosh writes, "it surpasses all imagination."† When this dreadful imprisonment had lasted some time, one of his friends went to the Protector's Court and, obtaining an interview, offered himself, "body for body," to lie in Doomsdale in his stead.‡ "Which of you would do as much for me if I were in the same condition?" was Cromwell's query to his courtiers. Shortly afterwards Fox was liberated. He forthwith repaired to Whitehall, and dealt very plainly with Oliver, directing him to the Light of Christ in his own heart, and remonstrating in emphatic terms against the persecution then so hot.

Fox was wonderfully successful in infusing the spirit of self-sacrifice into the minds of his friends. He counselled them to offer themselves for imprisonment on behalf of their suffering co-religionists. In 1659, the avenues of the House of Commons were thronged day after day, by 165 Friends who were petitioning to be allowed to take the places of the same number of their brethren, prisoners in London and Westminster.§ A fanatical

* *Journal*, i., 436.

† *History of the Revolution in England in* 1688, 159.

‡ *Journal*, i., 318.

§ See *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 149-150. Burton's *Diary* iv, 440, etc.

outbreak of Fifth Monarchy Men, shortly after the accession of Charles II., involved the Friends in further suffering, from which they had hoped the change of government might have freed them. Fox himself in this year, 1660, was detained in Lancaster Castle, on a vague charge of being a disturber of the public peace. Its futility was apparent to the Justices of the King's Bench, when, to save the cost of an escort, the prisoner was sent up to London on his parole, carrying with him his own accusation! In New England the restoration of a Stuart king mitigated a persecution more sanguinary than any the Friends had previously suffered in the old country. Three men and one woman had been hung on Boston common before the King's warrant in arrest of these bloody proceedings reached Governor Endicott.*

The summer of 1662 is memorable in English history for the ejectment from the Church of England of the 2,000 ministers who did not comply with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity. On that famous anniversary of St. Bartholomew's Day, Fox was preaching in his own county of Leicestershire, when he was arrested for holding meetings and refusing to take the oath of allegiance. He gives a picturesque account of the journey of himself and his colleagues to Leicester gaol, the men "with open bibles declaring truth" as they passed through the harvest fields, the women carrying their spinning wheels to ply within the prison walls. However, they were discharged at the next Sessions. The following year Fox was again in prison, nor did he regain his liberty for nearly three years. The occasion of his arrest in 1663 was made the scene of a fine historical painting exhibited in the Royal Academy of 1864. The artist, J. Pettie, R.A., introduces us to the interior of Holker Hall, by the sands of Leven, where Colonel Rawlinson and the other North Lancashire Justices are pressing Fox to take the oath of allegiance. He is refusing, and urging as his reason the prohibition of swearing in the Sermon on the Mount; whilst Margaret Fell—now a widow—and her maid are seated behind them. Let us pause for a moment to consider the aspect of the man who forms the central figure in

* See Sewel, i., 271, etc.; Whittier's *The King's Missive.*

the picture. His portly and well-knit frame is not yet broken by imprisonment and hard usage. His eyes are strikingly bright and piercing, his compressed lips and graceful features are expressive of decision, benevolence, and spirituality. His hair falls long behind his ears, for he resisted all the invitations of his Puritan friends to crop those luxuriant locks ; he "had no pride in it, and it was not of his own putting on." He possessed great physical strength, much power of endurance, a loud and sonorous voice, which could outdo the efforts of a hostile fiddler, or startle an Assize Court with the unwonted salutation, "Peace be among you." William Penn describes him as "civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour, very temperate, eating little and sleeping less." Thomas Ellwood says, "he was graceful in countenance, and manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, instructive in discourse, free from affectation in speech and carriage."*

Fox's health was permanently impaired by the hardships he endured in Lancaster and Scarborough Castles in 1663-1666. He was not liberated until the day preceding that on which London was laid in ashes by the Great Fire. The contemporaneous imprisonment of Margaret Fell was of still longer duration and attended with great havoc of her estate.

George Fox and Margaret Fell were married at Bristol in 1669. Before the wedding, the bridegroom-elect executed a deed debarring himself from any rights of ownership over his wife's property. In little more than a week after marriage, they separated for the prosecution of the religious service in which each was engaged. Margaret Fox was considerably older than her husband, whom she survived some years. Her testimony to his memory, printed in his *Journal*, is a document of considerable interest.

* Gerard Croese calls Fox's person "succulent;" Penn, "bulky." "His very presence expressed a religious majesty."

The best known portrait of Fox is that painted by Chinn and engraved by S. Allen. Another, differing considerably from this, in Swarthmoor College, Pennsylvania, is attributed to Sir Peter Lely. Additional particulars respecting other portraits, real or supposed, will be found in *Quaker Pictures*, by W. Whitten, and in the article "George Fox," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

In 1673, Fox was again imprisoned; this time in Worcester gaol, an occasion against him having been found by tendering the oath of allegiance. This, his last imprisonment, had extended over fourteen months when the Court of King's Bench liberated him. Though he himself was at large for the last sixteen years of his life, the hard lot of his friends was little, if at all, mitigated till after the accession of James II. From a statement put forth in 1685, it appears that, on an average, one Friend died in prison during every month of Charles II.'s reign—321 in twenty-five years,—whilst the whole number of sufferers by imprisonment, excommunication, banishment, etc., was not less than 12,316. In two great folio volumes by Joseph Besse, a writing-master of Colchester, the distressing details of this persecution can still be read. Throughout its course Fox bore himself as a leader. During thirty-six years he was haled before the magistrates sixty times. He was constantly to the front wherever the suffering was hottest.

During his eight imprisonments he sustained the courage and endurance of his comrades by a frequent correspondence. He strenuously exhorted them to maintain their meetings for Divine worship, notwithstanding all laws to the contrary, notably the Conventicle Acts of 1664-70. Even when the meeting houses were pulled down, the congregations met on their ruins, often to be haled to prison by the soldiers. The spirit of the Quaker women was as firm as that of their brethren, and was shared by their children. Both at Reading and Bristol, when the adults were all in gaol, the children maintained the meetings for Divine worship, in spite of threats of floggings. The memory of these times is perpetuated in the official name of the standing representative committee of the Society of Friends in Great Britain—"The Meeting for Sufferings." When Robert Barclay, in his famous *Apology for the True Christian Divinity of the People called Quakers*, defined the bonds of Christian Fellowship, it is significant that he specifies one to be "Fellowship in a Common Suffering for the Truth."* †

* *Apology*, Proposition 10, Section 3. † See next page.

The absence of resistance on the part of the sufferers is a most observable feature of this persecution. There were amongst them scores of Oliver's unconquered veterans, but all thoughts of appeal to physical force had disappeared. The Quaker prisoners were sent unattended from one London prison to another, as Ellwood,‡ Milton's friend, describes—so quaintly, that the reader finds himself unconsciously smiling over the sad recital. But whilst there was no physical resistance, it would be a great mistake to suppose that this persecution was in any sense tacitly acquiesced in. The exact contrary is the fact. Fox, with the help of Whitehead,§ Latey‖ and many others, was indefatigable in collecting

† In an address to the Bishops and Clergy issued from London, "30th of 1st mo., called March, 1685, signed on behalf of our suffering friends," by Thomas Robertson, Richard Bland, John Bowater and William Ingram; it is stated that:—

I. Between the years 1660 and 1680, there had died in prison of the people called Quakers 243.

II. That then remained in prison (divers having been closely confined for several years) 276.

III. The number of those that had suffered imprisonment for attending their religious meetings and refusing to swear (some of them having had a sentence of Præmunire passed on them) 9,437.

IV. The number excommunicated and imprisoned for not conforming to the public worship, 624.

V. Sentenced for banishment, 198.

"And this instant year 1685, there were presented to King James II. the account of present prisoners, 1,460.

"With account of prisoners that died since 1680, 78.

"The number of all the said sufferers come to hand, 12,316."

These figures are irrespective of 3,179 persons who suffered "Imprisonments, Stockings, Whippings, Loss of Goods and other abuses," and of seventy-nine who died in prison of bad usage, "in the days of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and in the commonwealth days."

‡ Thomas Ellwood, the one-time secretary of Milton, transcribed George Fox's *Journal* for the press. His autobiography is one of the most interesting of Quaker lives, as well as a valuable commentary upon contemporary history. Died 1713.—[Editor.]

§ George Whitehead devoted his life to public service from the age of seventeen to his death when about eighty-seven years old. He did pioneer work as a Gospel minister, especially in East Anglia, and was particularly serviceable in approaching Parliament and the Monarchy in order to try to alleviate the persecutions of Friends.—[Editor.]

‖ Gilbert Latey was born in Cornwall, in 1620, of yeoman stock. Business duties caused him to settle in London, where he was convinced under the ministry of Edward Burrough. In his trade of a tailor he declined to adorn the clothes of customers of rank with "superfluous ornaments of lace, ribbons and such like trimming," in consequence of which his business suffered greatly. He visited Friends during the Plague, did much work in the Gospel ministry, and several times suffered imprisonment.—[Editor.]

the details of the sufferings, and unwearied in remonstrance against them. Whilst the prisoners refused to give sureties for good behaviour, holding that they had done no wrong, they employed every form of legitimate influence to obtain liberation. Local public opinion was enlisted on their behalf, through the printing press. Many curious broad-sheets of this kind may still be found amongst the pamphlet literature of the seventeenth century. Everyone in authority, the king, his ministers, the members of parliament, judges, sheriffs, mayors, and provosts, were kept informed of the sufferings of the Friends, and were appealed to on their behalf. The Quaker women again and again made their way to Whitehall, to plead on behalf of their husbands and sons. The good offices of those who had any influence, as, for instance, the honest sailor, now a Friend, who had carried Charles II. on his back to the boat when he escaped to France, after the Battle of Worcester, were made use of. Hostile contemporary writers, like Neal, Baxter, and Burnet* do reluctant justice to the unflinching heroism with which the Friends asserted their right to religious toleration, throughout the reign of Charles II. Between 1660 and 1689 a marked change of sentiment on this subject took place in England. Hallam says, "Persecution for religious heterodoxy in all its degrees was, in the sixteenth century, the principle as well as the practice of every Church. It was held inconsistent with the sovereignty of a magistrate to permit any religion but his own."† Nor had public opinion materially altered at the time of the Restoration when, as Green puts it, "Only the Independents and a few despised sects, such as the Quakers, upheld the right of every man to worship God according to the bidding of his own conscience."‡ The claim for religious toleration which was but as a voice crying in the wilderness, at the accession of Charles II., was at the accession of William and Mary, with the almost unanimous assent of Parliament, embodied in that very illogical, but most beneficent measure, the Religious Toleration Act. What had wrought this change?

* *History of His Own Times*, 184. † *Literature of Europe*, ii., 343.
‡ *History of the English People*, iii., 363.

Across the English Channel events had moved in the opposite direction, and when the sun of liberty was rising upon the Nonconformity of Britain, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was banishing Protestantism from France. It was not that the plea for liberty of conscience had been first urged in the reign of Charles II. This had been eloquently done by Sir Thomas More when Henry VIII. was still a young man. But four generations had passed between the publication of *Utopia* and that, in 1659, of Milton's *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion ;* yet when this work appeared, the Friends were enduring cruel persecution throughout England, and their members were even being put to death in the British Colonies. Hallam attributes great influence to Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* (1647). There is no necessity to decry that eloquent book, whilst we may greatly doubt whether it would have accomplished that in which *Utopia* had failed, if there had not been stronger arguments also at work. These stronger arguments were the patient sufferings of the English Nonconformists, foremost amongst whom were the Friends. Their passive suffering was not open to the suspicions which attached to the religious bodies from which the armies of the Commonwealth had been recruited, and there is ample evidence to show that these sufferings produced a powerful effect on public opinion. It was because the sentiment against harassing the Nonconformists was so strong that James II. was so anxious to enlist it on behalf of the Roman Catholics. The strength of the sympathy for their sufferings is vouched for by Barclay* and Penn* and is seen in the indisposition of a man like Thomas Pepys to qualify as a Justice of the Peace, because he would then be required to enforce the Conventicle Act and other

* Robert Barclay, son of "Barclay of Ury," was the greatest scholar among the early Friends, as well as a faithful and valued minister. He was born in 1648, and after joining Friends wrote *A Catechism and Confession of Faith* (1673) and *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers* (published in Latin in 1676). He died in 1690. William Penn greatly helped on the work, as preacher, author, and sufferer, but the most important service performed by him was his "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania (see p. 138). Born 1644. Died 1718.—[EDITOR.]

persecuting laws.* It is seen in the indisposition of juries to convict, as in the trial of William Penn and William Meade† for preaching in Gracechurch Street.

The adhesion of men like Penn and Barclay to the Society in 1667-8 introduced new arguments into the discussions on religious liberty. They appealed to the teachings of history, and to the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, in support of their claim to worship God agreeably to their conscientious convictions. William Penn's defence at the trial just referred to, and Barclay's handling of the theme of religious liberty in his *Apology*, remain noble expositions of principles, now as generally accepted as they were then commonly denied. But behind the scholarly arguments of Penn and Barclay was the position taken up by Fox, twenty years earlier, of the supremacy of the individual Conscience. For this contention he, and thousands "of whom the world was not worthy," had shamefully suffered. This brings us to the difference between More and Fox. The former wrote beautiful sentiments about toleration, but used his judicial position in order to oppress and torture those who held religious opinions differing from his own. Fox, throughout his whole career, pleaded for a wide toleration, and when his friends came to have power in their own hands, in New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, they gave a practical and generous illustration of their loyalty to the principles for which they had suffered. I believe the historical student will discover an overwhelming amount of evidence in support of the position that the world owes an immeasurable debt of gratitude to Fox for his stand on behalf of Religious Liberty.

Whilst the cruelty with which Fox and his friends were treated cannot but excite surprise, it is but just to remember that their

* See also the fines imposed on Justices for not convicting, Burnet, 184. Barclay's *Apology*, Prop. xiv. Hepworth Dixon's *Life of Penn*, chap. xii.

† William Meade was the fellow defendant with William Penn in the famous Old Bailey trial (1670), in which the jury refused to give a verdict against the prisoners although condemned to be "locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco, for two nights," and were each fined forty marks for non-compliance with the repeated demands of the Court to convict Penn and Meade against the evidence.—[EDITOR.]

words and acts were often very provocative. Quakerism in the militancy of its youth was so different from the serenity of its maturer years, that readers are apt to forget the existence of a state of things like that mentioned by Baxter, who bitterly complains of the abuse with which he was assailed by the "Children of Light," standing at their house doors, as he walked through the streets of London. Foremost amongst the enemies of the Friends were the clergy. It will probably be deemed some palliation of their persecuting zeal when it is remembered how vigorously Fox denounced their profession, criticised their conduct and preaching, and refused to make the payments by which they lived. Persons who were attached to the military and legal professions, the votaries of pleasure, the student of art, music, and the drama, were naturally unsympathetic, if not actually hostile, to the Society; whilst people of every station in life were affronted at being deprived of the common amenities of social and business intercourse. On quite the opposite side of society were earnest, spiritually minded men, who were honestly alarmed at the progress of views which seemed to them destructive of Protestant Christianity—men like Bunyan, Alleine, Baxter, Roger Williams, and the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More. In the face of such a host of opponents, the hold which Fox secured on the English people was very remarkable. His converts recognised that they had obtained something of supreme value, otherwise they would not have endured the sufferings in which they were involved. The success which attended his labours also attests the wide preparation which had been in progress for the reception of his message. Amongst the serious part of the population there was a longing for a more spiritual experience than had been known, except by isolated individuals. The overthrow of civil and religious institutions predisposed men to listen to a teacher who had parted company with ecclesiastical authority, to an extent they might not have done in quieter and more settled times.

The multitude of sects which sprang up in the Commonwealth period indicates the spiritual unrest which prevailed.

The sect of the Seekers represents in its name the attitude of multitudes.

From the Seekers, Ranters, and Baptists Fox gathered many of his converts. Whilst the existence of these bodies had no doubt favoured the spread of his teaching, they introduced into the new Society some of its most disintegrating elements. As early as 1656 a secession occurred, of those who opposed *all* church organisation, and thought that in the rejection of *all* human instrumentality they exalted the offices of the Spirit. With this line of thought, which some may deem the logical outcome of his own premises, Fox was in acute antagonism to the close of his life. One peculiarly dangerous form which this ultra-mysticism assumed, was in opposing the training and Christian education of children. Fox's epistles on this head are amongst the most weighty which he wrote. He appealed to the family instincts of humanity, to the example of birds in training their young to fly, in opposition to such supra-spirituality. He urged the establishment of schools for the education of girls, as well as of boys, wherein the young maidens might be taught "all things civil and useful in the creation." At his death he bequeathed land in Philadelphia for the formation of a botanic garden, and a children's playground. By progressive steps, he established a system of democratic Church government, through a graduation of synods—preparative, monthly, quarterly, and yearly. The Yearly Meeting of 1668 may be regarded as the precursor of the May Meetings of the present time, and the first of that long succession of annual gatherings, when, in the words of Charles Lamb, the easterly streets of the metropolis are whitened, as by "troops of the Shining Ones." It is hardly possible to convey, in a few sentences, an adequate idea of the severity of the opposition which Fox encountered in the establishment of the internal organisation of the Society. He was called a Pope, and an inquisitor; his epistles, Papal bulls. This opposition did not sour him. Barclay, Penn, Ellwood, Whitehead and Crisp* replied, some-

* One of the most serviceable of the early Friend apostles, convinced by James Parnell in 1655. Died 1692. See p. 151, 152.—[EDITOR.]

times with great asperity as well as ability, to the accusations of his opponents, whilst he held steadily on his way, and came out unscathed from the trial. Before his death the opposition was largely overcome, and the secession it had occasioned was very much healed. The way in which Fox appeals to the testimony of his life, in arguing with his dissatisfied friends, is Pauline in its combination of humility with confidence. Writing from Worcester Gaol, he said: "You have known the manner of my life the best part of thirty years, since I went forth and forsook all things. I sought not myself, I sought you and His glory that sent me; and when I turned you to Him that is able to save you, I left you to Him. And my travels have been great in hungers and colds, when there were few [Friends] for the first six or seven years, that I often lay in woods and on commons in the night. Many times it was a by-word that I would not come into houses, and lie in their beds; and the prisons have been made my home a great part of my time, and I have been in danger of my life, and in jeopardy daily. And amongst you I have made myself of no reputation, to keep the truth up in reputation, as you all very well know that are in the fear of God. With the low I make myself low; and with the weak and feeble I was as one with them; and condescended to all conditions; for the Lord had fitted me so to do before he sent me forth."*

In spite of this internal struggle, and the terrible persecution it was enduring from without, the Society of Friends continued to grow throughout the lifetime of Fox, and at his death probably contained 60,000 adherents in Great Britain and Ireland, with offshoots in Germany, Algiers, the West Indies, and the American Colonies.

I have no time left to speak of two journeys in Germany, in which Fox, associated with Penn, Barclay, and Keith,† held

* George Fox's *Epistles*, Tuke's edition, 153.

† George Keith was a ripe scholar, at one time working in full harmony with William Penn and other prominent Friends. In Pennsylvania, however, he expressed views out of accord with those held by Friends, and eventually conformed to the Church of England and was ordained. For one year he was headmaster of what is now the "William Penn Charter School" in Philadelphia.—[EDITOR.]

public meetings, and had private intercourse with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of the King of Bohemia, and other spiritually minded persons, of both high and low degree. A visit to the West Indies and the North American Colonies in 1671-3 was too important to be passed over in entire silence. Fox was accompanied by several of his colleagues; they were on the whole well received, both in Barbadoes, where a long tarriance was made, and also in Maryland, Virginia, and New England. They succeeded in establishing amongst Friends there the same system of Church government which had been set up in England, and rectified some abuses which had crept in. We note the practical character of Fox's mind that in the hot climate of Barbadoes he interposes strong exhortations to domestic cleanliness with counsels more strictly religious. Here too, he came in contact with negro slavery. He urged the planters to treat their slaves kindly, to train them in the fear of God, and after certain years of servitude to give them their freedom.* On the American continent many meetings were held with the Red Indians. Fox's heart was much drawn out in love towards these aboriginal inhabitants. He strongly counselled the colonists to deal justly with them, and to instruct them in Christian truth, and in the arts of peace and civilisation. These humane and enlightened views respecting the treatment of slaves and Indians were somewhat in advance of the prevailing tone of sentiment amongst those to whom they were addressed, but the seed sown germinated, and in coming years brought forth great results. In Rhode Island the travellers encountered Roger Williams, deservedly honoured as one of the earliest champions of religious toleration in the New World; but whilst he agreed with the Friends on this point, on other doctrinal questions he proved a strenuous opponent, and an acrimonious controversialist. New England offered no opposition to this missionary visit. A marked change of feeling had come over the colony since Mary Dyer and her co-martyrs were hanged on Boston Common.

One result of these American travels was to impress the

* *Journal*, ii., 149.

Quaker leaders with the boundless field for colonisation presented by the transatlantic possessions of Great Britain. Persecution was hot at home, and their eyes turned more and more wistfully towards these western territories, with the desire to find there a dwelling-place which might be free from the hand of the oppressor. In 1674, a syndicate of Friends obtained, by purchase from Lord Baltimore, a predominating influence in the colony and government of West New Jersey. Its constitution was organised by the Proprietors on a broad democratic basis, with full religious toleration for men of every faith. The Proprietors wrote to the colonists in 1677 :—" We lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as Christians and as men, that they may not be brought into bondage, but by their own consent ; for we put the power on the people."*

In 1682, Philadelphia was founded ; and that which William Penn called " a holy experiment," the foundation of a State on principles of religious equality and popular self-government, was tested in the constitution of Pennsylvania. George Fox took the deepest interest in these efforts to colonise the New World by methods so much more tolerant than even those which had animated the Pilgrim Fathers. It does not come within the scope of this lecture to dilate upon the constitution of Pennsylvania, further than to point out that whilst it was moulded by the statesmanship of William Penn, it embodied those large and liberal views of civil and religious liberty, which George Fox had now been promulgating through the lifetime of a generation. " In the early constitution of Pennsylvania," says the American author, Whaton, " are to be found the distinct annunciation of every great principle ; the germ, if not the development, of every valuable improvement in government and legislation, which have been introduced into the political systems of more modern epochs."

After his return to Europe, Fox continued to evince his interest in the American colonists, and in the negroes and Indians around them, by frequent correspondence. Some of his last thoughts were with these young and struggling communities west of the

* Bancroft, ii., 613.

Atlantic. He can have had but little conception of the national magnitude to which the American Colonies would attain in the coming centuries, nor have foreseen how much the democratic framework of the United States, and the fibre of its people, would be moulded by the principles of civil and religious freedom, to which practical expression had been given in the settlement of the Jerseys, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. The irony of history has rarely been more conspicuous than when New England (eager in the persecution of Friends) reared amongst her sons a poet who has interpreted the mind of Fox to the millions of English-speaking people, now dwelling between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. John Woolman and Elizabeth Fry in philanthropy, John Bright in social and national politics, William and Catherine Booth in exalting the ministry of woman, have each reflected sides of Fox's mind; but John Greenleaf Whittier has been unique, in the power with which he has portrayed virtually the same conception of Christianity—undogmatic, tender, practical and spiritual—in association with a burning hatred of wrong, and an all-embracing charity.

George Fox was a voluminous writer, but he can hardly be regarded as a successful author. His *Journal* is by far the best and most readable of his works. The greater part of it was not written till some years after the events described, and it required considerable editing from Thomas Ellwood, before being sent to the press. Considering his intimate knowledge of the English Bible, it is surprising that Fox did not write a simpler and less involved style. Macaulay's statement that it is unintelligible as Hebrew is a rhetorical exaggeration, but undoubtedly his didactic writings are often obscure and tedious, though not unrelieved by striking sentences and by passages of exceptional beauty. This is one reason why the biography we have been considering demands careful study. It does not disclose its full significance to the impatient or superficial student. Macaulay displayed the instinct of a true historian when he saw that the death of George Fox was an event demanding notice in any real history of the English people. But when he applied his brilliant

intellect to the writings of this Leicestershire shepherd, without the interpreting key of spiritual sympathy, he failed to understand them, or to discover the secret of their author's power ; hence he was driven to try to account, through the influence of such men as Penn, Barclay, and Ellwood, for that which was manifestly excellent in the work of the Friends. This theory is refuted by an appeal to chronology, and by the concurrent testimony of friends and foes, of colleagues and opponents, both within and without the Society. Whilst Fox was not so luminous a writer, nor so eloquent a preacher, as several both of his early and later colleagues, he had a leader's power of availing himself of the intellectual and literary possessions of those who came under the influence of his original mind, his deep spiritual experience, and his impressive personality. He induced such men to search out, for his guidance as a legislator, matters like the history of the marriage ceremonial from the first to the seventeenth century, or the idioms of modern and ancient languages in respect to the use of the singular and plural pronouns.

The use made by Robert Barclay and succeeding writers of arguments and illustrations drawn from non-Christian authorities, in defence of the doctrine of the Inward Light, has probably misled authors like Bancroft, and led them to seek for the essence of Fox's teaching in philosophy rather than in the Christian revelation. Men will accept or reject, in whole or in part, Fox's testimony to the world, as judgment and conscience decide, but it may, we believe, be confidently affirmed as an historic fact that this testimony—whatever affinity it may afterwards have been discovered to possess with other faiths—primarily rested upon a Christian basis only.

George Fox may be accounted happy in the circumstances of his death, which occurred when he was still some years short of seventy—but his repeated imprisonments had broken down his iron constitution. He lived to help, by daily attendance at Westminster, in furthering the passage of the Toleration Act through Parliament, and to see the gaols almost emptied of Nonconformist prisoners. The Society which he had been so

largely instrumental in gathering was enjoying peace in its external relations, and in its internal economy, greater than it had before known. In reality, this was not the most important achievement of his life, yet measured by numerical results, Fox's work was not inferior to that of the Wesleys in the next century. Persecution from without, and opposition and revolt from within, had been surmounted. Success had not exalted him, and opposition had not embittered him. His character broadened, softened and mellowed, the nearer he approached the close of life. When he was a young man he had said to an opponent, "We are nothing, Christ is all." Now that he was an old man he wrote, "All of you live and walk in Christ Jesus; that nothing may be between you and God but Christ, in whom we have salvation, life, rest, and peace with God."* His last sermon was preached, January 11th, 1691. Soon afterwards, conscious that his earthly work was finished, he bade farewell to the things of time in characteristic words, indicating that his love still flowed towards his distant friends, that his zeal for the prosperity of truth was unabated, and that above the memory of former conflict rose the note of Christian triumph. "I am clear, I am fully clear." "The Seed of God reigns over all, and over Death itself."†

* *Journal*, ii., 504. † Ibib, 506.

CHAPTER II.

MICAH'S MOTHER :

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER IN CHURCH HISTORY.*

THE strange stories which occupy the closing chapters of the Book of Judges, "when every man did that which was right in his own eyes," seem very far removed from any connection with the tranquil Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Women Friends. It is a singular fact, however, that the service and authority of these meetings were fiercely discussed in the last years of Charles II. in connection with the merits or the failings of Micah's Mother.

Amongst the many books and epistles of George Fox was one, published in 1676, entitled, *This is an Encouragement to all the Women's Meetings in the World,* in which the author marshalled the worthy women of Scripture, in support of his contention on behalf of the then recently established Women's Meetings amongst the Friends. "And was not Micah's Mother," he asks, "a virtuous woman? Read Judges xvi. and see what she said to her son?" William Rogers, of whom we will speak presently, accepted the challenge, and affirmed that the woman in question was an idolater and a curser, and by no means an estimable character. This position he maintained with much iteration in his book, *The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator.*† Rogers began to deal with Micah's Mother, at

* A lecture given to the York Friends' Biblical Library Association, in 1892.

† The full title is :—*The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator, in five parts. Wherein, Religious Differences amongst the People termed in Derision, Quakers, are treated on. George Fox, one (at least, if not the chief) Reputed Author thereof, is Detected,*

page 62, returned to the charge at page 65, and resumed the discussion in nine other places, so that, as Thomas Ellwood puts it, eleven times over he pleased himself with railing at Micah's Mother.

In 1682, Ellwood published *An Antidote against the infection of William Rogers's Book*;‡ a closely printed treatise of 234 pages, five or six of which are devoted to the vindication of Micah's Mother. Ellwood argues that though she cursed, her curse was "grave and solemn," not "wicked and profane," also that the results of the curse were good, as it led her son to confess his fault, and restore the money he had misappropriated. Learned writers on Scripture, Tremellius and Junius, are appealed to in support of this view. Ellwood further points out that the curse was quickly followed by a blessing. As regards idolatry, he argues that this woman, whilst not wholly exempt from the common evil of her age and nation, did evidently retain considerable devotion to God and zeal for his service, though she erred in her manner of performing it. Ruth, Gideon, Rachel, Rahab and others who enjoy Scriptural commendation are adduced as pertinent illustrations of the too frequent blending of evil with good in the same characters.

When Ellwood has finished with Micah's Mother, he devotes a couple of pages to the Woman of Tekoah, whom Fox had also brought forward in support of the Women's Meetings. "What an excellent sermon," said he, "did she preach to King David." Rogers had rejoined that she was a "subtle woman," whom Joab induced to go to King David with a lying story in her mouth. Rogers harps upon the words "lying story," whilst Ellwood re-

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Doctrines of Truth owned by the Children of Light (and cleared from objections) are laid down, according to Holy Scriptures, and Revelation of the Spirit. By William Rogers, on Behalf of himself and other Friends in Truth concerned.

‡ *An Antidote against the infection of William Rogers's Book, miscalled "The Christian-Quaker, Distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator." Whereby the Envy, Falsehood, Slander, Errors and False Doctrines contained in the said Book, being plainly laid open, the Charge of Apostacy and Innovation is justly Retorted upon W. R. and his Adherents. By Thomas Ellwood.*

torts that Scripture did not call her a subtle woman, but a wise woman; further, that Scripture did not say she went with a lying story, and therefore, "that must be a lying story which so abused both her and the Scriptures." "Whither," asked Ellwood, "will thy hot-brained fury transport thee, William, thus wickedly to call a Scripture parable a lying story?" Ellwood then enlarges on the merits of parables, such as those employed by Christ, or those in the Old Testament, like Nathan's ewe lamb. "David," said he, "we may be sure, did not take parables for lying stories, when he said in Psalm xlix. 4, 'I will incline mine ear to a parable,' and in Psalm cxix. 163, 'I hate and abhor lying.'" A somewhat unsavoury argument follows respecting the assemblies of women named in 1 Sam. ii. 22; after which Rachel, Leah, and Jephthah's daughter are severally discussed, in their connection, real or supposed, to the Women's Meetings.

Before closing Ellwood's *Antidote*, I may refer for a moment to page 201, where a different subject is handled. Rogers had railed against Fox, for "the lowness of his parentage and the meanness of his trade." Ellwood admits that Fox was at one time a shoemaker, though his father was "an honest husbandman," whilst Rogers' father was a smith, and then gravely submits that "it is more reputable to make shoes for men than shoes for horses." Therefore, Rogers' charge was futile. From subsequent pages it appears that Fox had been criticised for not working with his hands, for travelling with a man servant, and for receiving extravagant entertainment at the houses of some of his friends. Each of these charges is conclusively disposed of by Ellwood. The biographical touches which come out in this chapter are very interesting. The value of the whole discussion to us is largely this—that it shows the great earnestness of controversial writers, and presumably of readers also, two centuries ago. I hope to be able to show why these writers were so in earnest.

Fox was subjected to persistent and embittered personal attacks from former friends, during the last twenty or thirty years of his life. They were replied to with generous indignation by William Penn, Thomas Ellwood, George Whitehead and others.

There were, however, at issue, behind these personal questions, far-reaching principles of Church action and of individual conduct. Disquisitions on Micah's Mother, the Woman of Tekoah, and George Fox's shoemaking, his travelling with a man servant, and the other contemptible charges hurled at him were but the froth thrown up in a storm that broke out within the Society, in quite the early days of its history.

The magnitude and significance of these dissensions have hardly been adequately realised, for reasons not difficult to understand. They are but slightly referred to in the books which are the chief sources from which we obtain our information of the rise and early history of Friends. The magnanimity of Fox has partly concealed the persecution to which he was subjected by former friends and colleagues. The name of William Rogers does not occur in his *Journal*. The excellent sketch of the origin of the discipline in the *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends** only indirectly refers to this controversy. William Penn took an active part in it, but his biographers naturally give but little place to it in their narratives. His trial for speaking in Gracechurch Street, his founding of Pennsylvania, and his dealings with the Stuart kings lend themselves much more readily to picturesque treatment than do the details of a controversy now well nigh forgotten. The Quaker historians, Sewel and Gough, devote but little space to the subject. They deemed the awful persecution endured by the first generation of Friends more worthy of record than these internal differences. Contemporary historians often overlook events whose significance only becomes apparent in the light shed on them by the disclosures of time.

The late Robert Barclay probably realised more fully than any previous writer—unless we except Samuel Tuke—the magnitude of the questions so early debated within the pale of the Society, and their influence on its subsequent history. Robert Barclay's book on the *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* is a monument of laborious research, and has

* 1906, ii., xi-xxiv.

hardly obtained the recognition it deserves. I am indebted to it for many of the materials of this lecture. Their accuracy has been tested, so far as opportunity has allowed, by reference to the original authorities.

Sewel's account of the Wilkinson and Story controversy, during the course of which Rogers and Ellwood issued the books we have been quoting from, is very quaint.*

Two features in it deserve special attention—(1) That, writing under date of 1683, he states that the controversy had originated years before; (2) That he should attribute so much importance to the personal element in the controversy.†

In almost all great controversies personal elements mingle with and often obscure the questions of principle really at stake.

Just so, when the Society of Friends was young, and when Fox was assailed with abuse and criticism, or regarded with esteem and veneration, behind all these personalities stood a question of lasting moment: what was the true place of Church government, especially in its relation to individual liberty and personal spiritual guidance? Perhaps, indeed, we may say that a question yet more fundamental was on its trial, behind that of Church government: had human instrumentality any place in the Kingdom of Christ? and if so, what place?

If the character of Fox's teaching, and the manner of people from whom the ranks of the first Friends were drawn are considered, it can occasion no surprise that a revolt should have arisen against his authority, as well as against Church order and all instrumental means. He had drawn men away from human traditions, and directed them to the teaching of God's Spirit in their own hearts. Luther and Calvin had protested against the

* Sewel, ii., 399-402.

† Gough is as emphatic as Sewel in condemning the unworthy personal motives which animated many of the dissentients and prevented their reconciliation with their brethren, "looking upon it, in the prevailing vanity of their minds, as a more splendid situation to be leaders of a party in the wrong, than to lose their distinction by ranking again with a Society, amongst whom the superior qualifications of many members in capacity and virtue might involve them amongst the common mass." See Gough's *History*, iii., xv., 9-24.

authority of the outward corporation which men called The Church, when its teaching ran counter to that of Holy Scripture. Fox's doctrine went much beyond this. He not only rejected the whole Papal system, but he rejected the authority of any existing human organisation to pronounce upon the things of God. He gave a position to Holy Scripture different from that assigned by other Protestant teachers, and he pointed every man to the Divine Light which would illuminate his own heart and conscience. This was a message of glad tidings to thousands who were seeking for a more soul-satisfying, inward, and spiritual faith than that in which they had been nurtured. But it was only to take a few steps further in the same direction wherein they had been travelling, when those who had left the worship of the national Churches, and who had discarded the services of priests and ministers, began to deem all human instrumentality unnecessary for the establishment and maintenance of the kingdom of Christ in their own hearts, and in the world.

Fox's mind, on the contrary, as years passed, moved somewhat in the opposite direction. His own subjection to the government of Christ, his thorough grounding in Holy Scripture, the entire genuineness of his religious experience, his shrewd common sense, his quick perceptions, kept him from that falsehood of extremes into which some of his friends fell. As the Society multiplied, it became increasingly plain to him that so great an association could not be kept together without regulations, and under his fostering care that system of discipline grew up, which in its main features exists to the present day. He saw that the New Testament had laid down certain laws which were of lasting and universal obligation, *e.g.*, "Let all things be done decently and in order." "Let all things be done unto edifying." Spiritual guidance did not mean anarchy. The very maintenance of spiritual liberty was dependent upon the maintenance of order.

It was probably inevitable, in any case, that a conflict should occur between the upholders of Church government and its opponents, but the materials from which the Society of Friends had been recruited intensified the danger. Amongst the multitude

of sects that prevailed in the time of the Commonwealth, Ranters and Seekers were prominent. They had originated at an earlier period. Their views were ultra-mystical. Put shortly, their tenets encouraged a quest for spiritual-mindedness in the denial of all, or nearly all religious institutions. Ordinances, congregational worship, helpful Christian association, Scripture reading, Christian officers, even common morality, were sometimes sacrificed on the altar of ultra-spirituality. Oliver Cromwell said that next to the sect of the Finders was that of the Seekers, but his benediction was intended for sober-minded inquirers, not for fanatics—a word which entered the language during the time of the Civil War. Many of the Ranters and Seekers did become finders, and useful members of the community, under the ministry of the early Friends. But some leaven of their former doctrines came with them, and Penn, Fox, and other contemporary writers frequently intimate that the source of the discord in the Society was to be found here. Opposition to Church order and government, and indeed to the place of human agency in the things of God, showed itself very early, and was continually reasserting itself in one form or another.

It was in 1647, two years before the execution of Charles I., that Fox began his ministry. In his own words, the Father of his Life had drawn him to His Son by His Spirit; and he went forth to tell of that which had become precious to his own soul. He was not long before he found those who shared his convictions, and accepted his conception of the essentially spiritual character of the kingdom of Christ. When such persons lived near to each other, and began to meet for religious worship, they formed from the very law of their union a Christian family or a little Church.* As numbers increased, those mutual helps and guards which had been almost spontaneously afforded were found to require some regular arrangement for the preservation of order. The registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths was systematically begun in some localities as early as 1650. In 1653, the same year in which Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector, the lines of the

* See *Christian Discipline*, vol. ii., p. xiii.

Friends' marriage procedure were laid down, and some of their Church meetings were settled. In 1654 the Society was establishing itself in London. Upwards of sixty ministers, mostly young men under forty years of age, many of whom were from the North of England, were now preaching. The doctrine they set forth was largely accepted by the people. Great persecution attended the infant Society, and in 1656 the fall of James Nayler exposed it to much odium. Disciplinary meetings in London under various names and Quarterly Meetings in the country were established in the course of succeeding years, and many General and Yearly Meetings were held in various places. The same year that saw London in ashes from the great fire witnessed the foundation of both Men's and Women's Monthly Meetings; and their multiplication was vigorously pressed on in subsequent years. The marriage procedure was somewhat modified and made more systematic. The early educational efforts of the Friends date from the same period. In 1673 the first Yearly Meeting of a representative character was held in London. Points of order, such as the rising of the congregation during public prayer and the uncovering of the head, had been discussed and decided. A simple but efficient machinery had been provided for the distribution of the ministry, and large collections had been made for the support of those engaged in it at home and abroad. The Morning Meeting* is a mild survival of the London Home Mission work of the seventeenth century. It is never to be forgotten that this building up of the Society went on during a time of terrible persecution, when the prisons of England were crowded with Friends. Their losses of property were enormous; the prisoners who died were counted by hundreds.† The Meeting for Sufferings, founded 1675, perpetuates in its historic name the memory of these times. The trial of William Penn and William Meade occurred in 1670. Twelve years later Penn founded the city of Philadelphia, and a great emigration of Friends to

* The Morning Meeting was given up in 1901, its functions being then transferred to the Meeting for Sufferings.—[EDITOR.]

† See p. 130*n*.

Pennsylvania followed. The accession of James II. brought some abatement of suffering, and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689 was followed by a blessed relief from persecution, which had spared neither rich nor poor, old nor young, male nor female. This event virtually closed the first chapter of the Society's history. The death of George Fox occurred in the succeeding year.

It was a wonderful proof of legislative constructive power, as well of the general sound-mindedness of the community, that in spite of violent external persecution, and of strenuous opposition from within, the fabric of the Society should have been so firmly established. Our admiration grows, as we consider the persistent opposition which Fox and his colleagues sustained in the progress of their work. It is to this opposition that we will now direct our attention.

Within seven years from the beginning of Fox's ministry some of his friends began to compare his influence with that of the Pope. Gospel ministry was criticised, even the powerful preaching of Francis Howgill. Certain of Fox's fellow ministers were compared to Lord Bishops. He, himself, was censured for arranging for the distribution of the ministry, and for allowing pulpits—presumably ministers' galleries—in the meeting houses.

About ten years later, John Perrot, who, though apparently somewhat crazy, must have been a man of some influence, headed a party in opposition to Fox's directions that in public prayer the speaker should uncover his head and the congregation should stand or kneel. Perrot argued that men should not uncover their heads unless they had a "motion" to do so at the time; also that they might rightly have motions to take off their shoes rather than their hats, and fall upon their faces. Thomas Ellwood was one of those who at the first were carried away by an appearance of spirituality in this teaching. He was not long before he saw reason to change his mind, and made a public acknowledgment that he had been in error. Perrot emigrated to America and ultimately died a persecutor. The dissemination of his views decimated the congregations of Friends in Virginia and Barbadoes.

In a number of the early London meeting books are regulations —19 in number—called George Fox's *Canons and Institutions* by his detractors, and supposed to have been framed about 1668. The seventh clause runs as follows —" And all such as wears their hats when Friends prays, and are gotten into the old rotten principle of the Ranters who set up the wearing thereof in opposition to the power of God, and therein upholds it which is condemned by it, and the power of God is gone over it, and them who are ranted from the truth, and have stopped many who were coming into it (that the very world can say you are in confusion and divided, and gone from your first principle, who said you were of one heart, and one mind, and one soul) ; and, therefore, that spirit must be cut off by the sword of the Spirit of the Lord, that they may come to that which did at first convince them ; and notice must be given to the General Meeting of all these things, and from thence some must be ordered to go to exhort them that be in such things to come to the first principle that did at first convince them, that they may come over such things, and Friends must stand up in the noble seed of God to judge the world and all the fallen angels."*

It was early in the reign of Charles II., that William Salt, a sympathiser with John Perrot, issued a pamphlet† in opposition to the vigorous evangelistic activity of the first band of preachers. This was based on the plea of high spirituality. The same doctrine was made to do duty in support of a less active assertion of the right of public worship, in view of the suffering which that assertion entailed. Indeed, the duty of public worship as a regular habit was impugned. Friends were only to go to meetings, it was said, " when they felt the stirrings of life, both with respect to time and place." A few years later Stephen Crisp wrote an epistle, to Friends, " Against such as cry out against the form of Godliness as against meeting at set times, on First days." In this letter, which is written in a very loving strain, the writer says, " Lend not your ears, I beseech you, into that in any or in your-

* Beck and Ball's *London Friends' Meetings*, 49.

† *Some Breathings of Life from a Naked Heart.*

selves that would, under pretence of formality in times and places, draw you aside from the good and blessed testimony of assembling yourselves together, to wait upon your God." Stephen Crisp—a wise and able minister—also tells us how he had to struggle against the same spirit amongst Friends in Holland. "I laboured greatly," he says, "to inform the minds of Friends of the depths of that ranting spirit, and whither it would lead, and where it would centre; having had long experience of it here in England."*

In 1673, a curious pamphlet entitled, *The Spirit of the Hat; or the Government of the Quakers among Themselves, as it hath been Exercised of late years by George Fox, and other Leading Men in their Monday, or Second-dayes Meeting*, shows that the controversy started by Perrot respecting the usages in public prayer was not entirely ended. Fox's directions in respect to those usages are treated as having been the beginning of a formal worship. The writer proceeds to argue for the independence of each congregation. This was in opposition to the policy of welding the Society together through the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. William Penn replied in a powerful rejoinder entitled, *The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived.*†

Some of the dissentient Friends carried their opposition to common usages to the extent of declining regularly to shake hands with their acquaintances, lest thereby they should sanction a formal habit. Fox found it needful to encourage all cordially to shake hands with one another.‡ The incident is very curious, and suggestively illustrates the repeated apostolic exhortation to "greet with an holy kiss."

The lawfulness or unlawfulness of congregational singing was another item in frequent debate amongst the Friends of the seventeenth century. Some of the dissentients objected to singing *in toto*. The attitude of Fox, Barclay, and the main body of the

* Samuel Tuke's *Memoirs of Stephen Crisp*, 153.

† See also his *Judas and the Jews*, and George Whitehead's *The Apostate Incendiary Rebuked*, 1673. William Mucklow, part author of *The Spirit of the Hat*, was afterwards reconciled to his brethren. He died 1713, aged eighty-two.

‡ *Inner Life*, 440.

Society was that it stood on the same footing as vocal ministry and vocal prayer in meetings for worship—not forbidden, but not pre-arranged for. As early as 1653, Fox wrote to Robert Ariss,* "Why should not they that sing have liberty of conscience to sing in your meetings? I do look upon thee as a competent judge whether they sing in grace or not." In the same year Fox tells us how his own singing in Carlisle prison drowned the noise of the fiddler whom the jailor had brought to annoy him. In 1662, the trustee of the meeting house at Reading, who belonged to the Story and Wilkinson party, said that "singing or speaking singingly in prayer, preaching, or with a vocal voice, was an abomination."† On the other hand, William Rogers says he was falsely accused of comparing the singing of Friends to "catterwouling" and "the belching of a calf." He says it was the faith of himself and his friends, John Wilkinson and John Story, that "as groanings, sighing, soundings and singings may proceed from deceitful spirits, so also we declare groanings, soundings, and singings may be the fruit of the Spirit of the Lord amongst God's people."‡

In one of the pamphlets against the party of J. W. and J. S. it was complained: "That they had disorderly and irreverently judged Friends' tender exercise in breaking forth in melodious singings and soundings to God's praise in their meetings, under the exercise of the power which breaks and fills the heart, out of the abundance whereof breaks forth sighs, and groans, and spiritual songs, as the Lord is pleased to exercise them that waits upon him." But John Wilkinson affirmed—"Neither did I ever deny any singings, soundings, breathings that had their rise from the Spirit of God."

In Robert Barclay's *Truth Clear'd of Calumnies* (1670), he says that singing of Psalms is a part of God's worship, when performed in His will and by His Spirit, and is warrantably performed amongst

* Probably G. Fox's correspondent was Robert Arch, a Separatist.—[EDITOR.]

† *Inner Life*, 462.

‡ *Christian Quaker*, iv., 39.

the saints, is a thing denied by no Quaker so-called, and it is not unusual among them. And at times David's words may also be used as the Spirit leads thereunto, and as they suit the conditions of the party, is acknowledged without dispute.*

The subject came definitely before the Yearly Meeting of 1675, which issued an epistle "concerning sighing, groaning, and singing in the church." "It hath been, and is, our living sense and constant testimony, according to our experience, of the divers operations of the Spirit and power of God in His church, that there has been and is serious sighing, sensible groaning, and reverent singing, breathing forth a heavenly sound of joy, with grace, with the Spirit, and with the understanding," "which is not to be quenched or discouraged in any," "unless immoderate."†

Perhaps the most mischievous form which the Ranter spirit assumed was in opposition to education, and in promoting a neglect of Scriptural and religious teaching of children. I propose to do little more than name the subject here, because I have no time to do justice to it, and also because it was handled in so masterly a way by Samuel Tuke.‡ The home education of children called forth some of Fox's best epistles. His pamphlet to the Women's Meetings, which we mentioned at the opening of this lecture, and which Rogers made such sport of, is really a very sensible production, the general drift of the argument being that from the earliest times women had had an important share in the service of the Church. In connection with Eli's example in not restraining his sons, a passage on maternal influence is interesting:

"So many of you may admonish your Children, but if ye do not restrain them with the Spirit of God, which God hath given to you, you will quench the Spirit of God in you, by in-

* This passage gives in abbreviated form the sense of Barclay's argument on pp. 29-30 of the pamphlet quoted from.—[EDITOR.]

† *Inner Life*, 461. See also *An Inquiry into the Lawfulness and Expediency of Singing in Christian Worship.* (Darlington, 1883.)

‡ *Five Papers on the Past Experience and Proceedings of the Society of Friends in connection with the Education of Youth.* (1843.)

dulging them ; so by that you will loose your spiritual Offering and your priesthood therein ; and take heed if you do not loose your own Lives, and your Children's also ; therefore mind old Ely for your example."*

The discontented elements in the Society drew together, under the leadership of John Wilkinson and John Story, as the Monthly Meetings became more firmly established throughout the country. These men had been colleagues of Fox's in the ministry since 1654. They were subsequently joined by William Rogers, of Bristol, a wealthy merchant, possessing considerable influence and some learning. The dissatisfied party became powerful in Westmorland and the West of England. The dissentients upheld the power of the congregation as against that of the association of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. They exhibited great jealousy of the influence of the travelling ministers, objecting to their presence in the meetings for discipline. They showed an excessive dislike to the Women's Meetings, and most of all to the Women's Meetings having any share in the proceedings respecting marriages. They made a great point that George Fox and Margaret Fell did not present their intended marriage to the Women's Monthly Meeting at Bristol, although it existed at the time. The short answer to their objections was that some grave disorders in connection with the Friends' marriage procedure, disagreeable instances of which are given in the pamphlets of the time, had disclosed the necessity of safeguarding that procedure with additional precautions. It is not easy to convey to those who have not read the literature of this controversy an adequate idea of the antipathy exhibited against the Women's Meetings. Some of the men seem to have felt themselves degraded by any of their affairs being subject to the Church meetings of the sisters. Their spirit was like that of John Knox when he inveighed against "the monstrous Regimen of Women." They found a novel interpretation and application of Isa. iii. 12, in the then state of the Society:—"As for my people, children are their oppressors, and women rule over them."

* *Encouragement to Women's Meetings*, 23.

The opposition to Church authority assumed a variety of shapes in different localities. In York, the congregation of Friends was rent in twain, from the offence given by a communication from the Quarterly Meeting, counselling deliberation and decorum in respect to second marriages. It is difficult to understand how so judicious an exhortation could have caused a schism.

Altogether, in the course of the Wilkinson and Story controversy, not fewer than one hundred pamphlets and tracts were issued from the press, a marvellous proof of the energy and zeal thrown into the discussion. Perhaps the ablest of these was Robert Barclay's work, with this long title page :—" The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other Pretended Churches, equally Refused and Refuted in a Two-fold APOLOGY for the Church and People of God, called in Derision QUAKERS. Wherein, They are vindicated from those that accuse them of Disorder and Confusion on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with Tyranny and Imposition on the other : shewing, that as the True and Pure Principles of the Gospel are restored by their Testimony, so is also the ancient apostolick Order of the Church of Christ re-established among them, and settled upon its Right Basis and Foundation."

In this work the principles of Church association are laid down with the perspicuity and learning to be expected from the author of the *Apology*.

A sore point with the dissentient Friends was their objection to the extent to which the Monthly Meetings entered into the details of individual life, deciding, for instance, on differences amongst Friends, instead of allowing them to go to the Courts of Law. In this connection there is a very curious passage in the *Anarchy*, in which Robert Barclay seems to have had a vision, hitherto very imperfectly fulfilled, of the world being eased of lawyers as well as priests, through the good offices of the Friends in their Church meetings. He says, " As Truth and Righteousness prevails in the earth, by our faithful witnessing and keeping to it, the nations shall come to be eased and disburdened of that deceitful tribe of Lawyers, (as well as Priests), who by their

many tricks and endless intricacies have rendered justice in their method burdensome to honest men, and seek not so much to put an end, as to foment controversies and contentions, that they themselves might be still fed and upheld, and their trade kept up. Whereas by truth's propagation as many of these controversies will die by men's coming to be less contentious; so when any difference ariseth, the saints giving judgment without gift or reward, or running into the tricks and endless labyrinths of the lawyers, will soon compose them. And this is that we are persuaded the Lord is bringing about in our day, though many do not, and will not see it. . . Even now are there thousands, that can set to their seal, that he hath now again the second time appeared, and . . he is restoring the golden age, and bringing them into the holy order and government of his own Son, who is ruling and is to rule in the midst of them, setting forth the Counsellors as at the beginning, and Judges as at first; and establishing Truth, Mercy, Righteousness, and Judgment again in the Earth: Amen, Hallelujah."*

The only further remark that time will permit me to make respecting this able treatise is that, whilst the author argues so strongly in favour of the authority of the disciplinary meetings of Friends, he is equally emphatic that their authority is moral and spiritual, and he draws a clear distinction between them and the synods of Churches which invoke the aid of the State to carry out their decrees. In spite of this disclaimer, Robert Barclay incurred much censure from the dissentients. They hinted that he might be a Papist in disguise. In fact they often called their opponents the Papistical party, and Fox's epistles were compared to the bulls of Leo X.

Another member of the first band of preachers, who afterwards put himself in opposition to Fox, was John Harwood. One ground of his opposition was the arrangements made for the distribution of the ministry. There is reason for believing that from a very early date the north country preachers were considerably directed in their movements from Swarthmoor Hall,

* Barclay's Works, 209, 210.

and that they did not travel over England without plan or system. At any rate, when there came to be many preachers in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, some arrangements were evidently necessary, so that, in Fox's own words, "the ministers might not go in heaps" to one meeting and leave others unprovided for. Harwood,* in 1663, complains that the preachers were too much ordered about—"Thou must go to such a place," "Such a place is ordered for thee." He had been a prisoner in York Castle but was now apparently a dissatisfied man. His paper is interesting as showing the early existence of some machinery for the suitable distribution of the ministry. As the Friends multiplied the arrangements were made more complete.†

In the minutes of the London Morning or Ministers' Meeting, 17, iii., 1675, "It is desired that all Friends in and about the city that have a public testimony for God, or ministry, do meet with the brethren on every First day and Second day morning when they can. Otherwise, to send a note to the meetings signifying what meetings they intend to be at on the First days." The Monday Morning Meeting dealt with future arrangements, and the meeting again of the ministers on the Sunday morning at eight o'clock was to complete the plan. They then dispersed, the horses standing in readiness in the yard for those who visited the more distant meetings.

"The plan or arrangement books, for the 'orderly dispersion' of the ministers for London and the environs, still exist from 1697 with the signatures of those ministers who engaged to be present, as do those for Bristol and the surrounding meetings. It can be shown from these books, that the system was so complete that two ministers were thus provided for every meeting. The books show that, to every one of these meetings, morning and afternoon, Sunday and week-days, a smaller number than two ministers in prescribed attendance were seldom present, while every marriage and funeral was attended by one."‡

* *The True and Real Demonstration why I deny the Authority of George Fox* (1663). Fox's reply was entitled, *The Spirit of Envy, Lying and Persecution*, etc. See *Inner Life*, 382.

† See Chapter VI.

‡ *Inner Life*, 384. See Beck and Ball's *London Meetings*, 339; Tanner's *Lectures on Friends in Somersetshire*, 95.

Much more, however, than the distribution of the ministry was questioned. The very existence and service of the Christian ministry was impugned. If not entirely set aside, it was disparaged as a superfluous institution for a people who had come to live under the teaching of God's Spirit. Reference has already been made to the indications of a tendency to disparage the ministry of Francis Howgill and his colleagues, so early as 1654. In the same year it is observable how clearly Richard Farnsworth wrote, in reference to the place of the Christian ministry: "'He that is a Bishop, Pastor, or Teacher, and is taught by the Spirit, who is not of man but of God, and is blameless and doth contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, who are not carnal but spiritual, and are governed by the Spirit of God, such do we own.'"* About the same time we have an account of John Pendarves, a Baptist minister, who asked of Friends, evidently with a desire for information, "whether they considered instrumental teaching to be unsuitable to the new covenant"; and was replied to, "that the Friends did not deny 'instrumental' teaching, but 'traditional' teaching."

In 1666, there was so much opposition to ministers and to all Church officers, that an epistle was issued from a number of Friends in London, against "those who speak evil of dignities, and despise governments," and "under the pretence of keeping down forms and man, cry down the ministry and meetings."† In 1677, a somewhat similar letter was issued, signed by sixty-seven Friends, and dated from Ellis Hookes, "his chamber in London." In fact, a continued line of sentiment more or less hostile to the ministry may be traced in the Society from the time of the Commonwealth to the death of Fox.

In connection with this subject, Penn's careful definition of terms is observable in his *Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual*:—

"*Q.* What is Spiritual Liberty?

A. It is twofold: there is a true and false liberty, as a true and false spirit, the right discerning of which concerns everyone's eternal well-being.

* *Inner Life*, 434. † Ibid, 433.

Q. What is true Spiritual Liberty ?

A. Deliverance from sin by the Perfect Law in the heart, the Perfect Law of Liberty [James ii.], otherwise called, The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, that makes free from the Law of Sin and Death ; elsewhere styled, The Law of Truth writ in the Heart which makes free indeed, as saith Christ, if the Truth make you free, then you are free indeed. So that the Liberty of God's people stands in the truth, and their communion in it, and in the Perfect Spiritual Law of Christ Jesus, which delivers and preserves them from every evil thing that doth or would embondage. In this blessed Liberty, it is not the will nor Wisdom of man, neither the vain affections and lusts, that rule or give law to the soul ; for the minds of all such as are made free by the Truth, are by the Truth conducted in doing and suffering through their Earthly Pilgrimage.

Q. What is False Liberty ?

A. A departing from this blessed Spirit of Truth, and a Rebelling against this Perfect Law of Liberty in the Heart, and being at Liberty to do our own Wills ; upon which cometh Reproof and Judgment."

In subsequent pages, Penn argues with much force that true Spiritual Liberty will not be interfered with by the Friends' meetings for discipline, whilst the tender, yet emphatic, way in which he supports the Christian workers, whose services had been lightly esteemed, has lost none of its suggestiveness by the lapse of two centuries. " Beware," says he, " of that loose and irreverent spirit, which has not those in high esteem among you, that are faithful in the Lord's work, and that labour in his blessed word and doctrine. I plainly see a coldness and shortness on this hand ; and be the pretence as it will, it is not pleasing to the Lord. They that love Christ, his servants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travels, spendings, and sufferings, who seek not yours, but you, that you may all be 'presented blameless at the coming of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ' ; that so the gospel ministry and testimony may be held up with holy fervent love, and godly esteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may slight and turn against it ; lest God, that has richly visited us with his Fatherly visitations, and Day springing from on high, should remove his blessing from amongst us, and place his 'Candlestick' among other people."*

* William Penn's *Select Works*, 1771, 605.

It was now that William Rogers took the field with his book from which we have already quoted. The third part of the *Christian Quaker* exhibits in a pointed way the divergence between the position of the writer and that of Fox, Barclay and Penn. The author contends that he manifests how "there is but two forms of government owned by the Children of Light: (1) The outward government under which we live, unto the laws whereof we owe either active or passive obedience, &c. (2) The inward government of Christ who alone is Lord over the conscience, which is not represented by persons visible to carnal eyes invested with power from him to execute outward laws, prescriptions, orders, edicts, or decrees in an outward form of government visible as aforesaid."

A great part of the work is, however, occupied with small captious objections, and abuse of the author's opponents. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the book is the evidence it affords of the means used for the sustentation of the ministry amongst Friends at this period. Rogers hinted that the cost of contributions to the Society's stock exceeded the amount of tithes demanded of him by the Established Church before he was a Friend. After a while Rogers gave up prose and betook himself to rhyme, in which he enlarged further on this topic.

"Next Fox his preachers did abound in wrath,
'Gainst them, whilst standing for the ancient path.
Until at length, Fox and his preaching tribe,
Were scorned like hirelings, that lived in pride.
Why so?
When he had framed i' th' church a government
Preachers, approved by man, beyond seas went,
Who when they wanted moneys to proceed,
The Church her cash then did supply their need
If they their motion freely did submit,
To th' London church, and do as she thought fit.
The Spirit's motion in a home-bread swain,
Without a city stamp, seemed but in vain.
And yet sometimes, 'gainst such as Fox had sent;
The Church dar'd not to shew her discontent."*

* *A Second Scourge for George Whitehead, an Apostate Quaker*, in a poem, 168$\frac{4}{5}$, p. 3.

The drift of Rogers' contention will be gathered from the passage quoted. He enlarges his complaint against the Friend preachers, alleging that they had left their employments and made a trade of preaching, and that the Society of Friends was practically doing the same for its ministers as the Church of England for its clergy.

Thomas Ellwood, who had already refuted Rogers in prose and also in verbal conference, now crossed swords with him in rhyme, in his *Rogero Mastix*, or *A Rod for William Rogers* (1685). The verse is better than Rogers, though hardly equal to that which might have been expected in Milton's secretary. We give Robert Barclay's summary of this rhyming controversy.

Thomas Ellwood wrote :—

> "The blest Apostles sometimes others sent,
> And sometimes, also sent by others, went.
> How oft did Paul send Timothy and Titus,
> Beloved Tychicus, Epaphroditus,
> Onesimus, Erastus, and some others,
> True Gospel preachers and beloved brothers ?
>
> * * * * *
>
> Can'st thou imagine they who thus were sent,
> On the mere motion of the Apostle went ?
> No. They no question in themselves did find
> The same good motion stirring up their mind ;
> With what the good Apostle did advise
> The Holy Ghost in them did harmonize."

"Outward teachers" were needed in the Church. The case of the parish preachers was quite beside the mark, and the objections of the Society of Friends to them depended on grounds entirely distinct. Ellwood contended that, while the Holy Spirit was the "inward teacher" of every Christian man,

> "Yet do the Scriptures plainly too declare,
> And Paul himself doth testimony bear,
> That Christ, when he ascended up on high,
> Gave teachers for the work o' th' ministry ;
> And gave those teachers gifts to fit them to
> The work he had appointed them to do.

One of those teachers, too, in downright terms,
Th' Apostle Paul himself to be affirms,
By which we plainly see our gracious Lord
Did outward teachers to His Church afford,
Although they had the inward."

Ellwood further states :—

"That 'tis the Church's duty to supply
The needful wants of all her ministry."

The Apostle Paul asserted his right to a maintenance, and although he did not take it of the Corinthians,

"That what was lacking to him, privately
The Macedonian brethren did supply."

In reply to the cavil of Rogers, respecting the supply of the needs of such preachers as were approved by the Church, and who had a motion of God's Spirit to go on this mission service beyond the seas, Ellwood replies :—

"Truth must not be refused
Because it is by evil men abused,
And truth it is, too plain to be denyed,
Christ's Church should for Christ's Ministers provide."

Ellwood ends his argument with Rogers, by lines which have proved prophetic :—

"Must Christ be so confined he may not send
Any but such as have estates to spend ?
God bless us from such doctrine and such teachers,
As will admit of none but wealthy preachers !"*

The Wilkinson-Story controversy resulted in a schism of some magnitude. Separatist congregations were formed at Bristol, Reading, Calne and other places, which, however, soon dwindled away. A very strong desire existed, with the Society, for the return of the dissentients, who on the whole were treated by their brethren with much tenderness—as may be seen in a printed letter of William Penn's of 1692. Some of the leaders,

* *Inner Life*, 471-2. Several errors, made by Barclay in transcribing these passages, have been corrected in the text. The frequent capitals, omitted by Barclay, have also been omitted here and in the preceding extract from Rogers.—[EDITOR.]

like Francis Bugg, allied themselves with other denominations, and became the bitterest assailants of Friends. After the death of Fox, George Whitehead had the distinction of being the best abused man in the Society—as he was also one of its most trusted leaders. William Rogers lived to be an old man, and published parts 6, 7, and 8 of his book. He never ceased to illustrate Solomon's words :—"A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city." But the main body of the seceders returned to the Society. Their hostility to the discipline had failed—the system of Church meetings was too strongly established to be overthrown—but the ranting spirit still showed itself in its opposition to active, aggressive, evangelistic labour, and helped to bring over the Society that phase of quietism and luke-warmness which led on to decrepitude and rapid decay.*

We have now travelled far from our starting point—the virtues and failings of Micah's Mother, and in so doing have reviewed—very imperfectly—that long controversy of which this was a very subsidiary item. Sadness has, I suspect, been the prevailing impression awakened by my narrative in the minds of some who have followed it. The first generation of Friends exhibited such heroic fortitude, such Christ-like submission in the presence of suffering and of persecution, that it is startling to find them so divided in respect both to the theory and practice of Church association. Their conceptions of the kingdom of Christ were so spiritual that it is disappointing to see how much of human infirmity entered into their labours for the advancement of that kingdom. But so it has ever been in the history of the militant Church. Heavenly grace there abides very near to human weakness. How prone men are to esteem the Apostolic age as one in which the Christian Church was constantly walking in the fear of God and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, free from the deformities which afterwards defaced her

* The Society retained not a little of its missionary zeal throughout the reign of Queen Anne. Under date 1711, Herbert S. Skeats in his *History of the Free Churches of England*, says :—"Like George Fox, the preachers of the denomination travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land, and in such a sense, that the Quakers may be justly described as the founders of the first home missionary organisations." (p. 210).

beauty! But this glamour vanishes when the significance of the Epistles to Galatia and Corinth is realised. There we see how imperfectly the disciples obeyed, or even understood the precepts of Christ, and how much Gentile vice still existed in their midst. The reflections of Sewel, the historian, and many others that might be quoted, show how the early Friends realised points of similarity between their experience and that of the primitive Church. They saw within their own body the counterparts of Diotrephes who loved to have the pre-eminence, and of Alexander the coppersmith. The opposition which attended George Fox had many points of affinity with that which dogged the steps of the Apostle Paul. From amongst the Ephesian bishops who stood before him at Troas were corrupt men to arise who should draw away disciples after them. Thus the experience of the first Friends—under that name—was not novel in Christian life. And furthermore—as we ponder the lessons of their experience, many helpful and encouraging considerations present themselves before which sorrowful thoughts may perhaps give way to the glow of grateful thanksgiving.

Let me first name a minor point. The cruel sufferings of the early Friends must, one has been ready to think, have banished from their lives all the charm of fun and humour. This can hardly have been the case, at any rate as respects Thomas Ellwood. He was desperately in earnest, but he must have stopped to laugh now and again as he wrote on, obediently to the counsel of Solomon, "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit."

Then again, if we are at all staggered at the appearance of these internal differences, in the hey-day of the Society's youth, we cannot but admire the ability with which the danger was met. The danger was indeed imminent—or all the men of light and leading would not have mingled in the strife of tongues and of pens. The extinction which overtook the societies of Seekers and Ranters, the desolation which did lay waste many congregations of Friends infected with their views, the speedy disappearance of the dissentient Friends, all indicate that the destruction

of the Society would probably have ensued had their doctrines and practices prevailed.

There is one historical fact which comes out very clearly in the light of the narrative we have been considering. Robert Barclay, William Penn, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, Thomas Ellwood, each exhibit their characteristic powers, but the central figure is that of George Fox. His ecclesiastical statesmanship was prescient and well proportioned. He never allowed himself to be turned aside from the work he had in hand, by the defection of weak friends or the opposition of the ultra-spiritual. If visionary people wrote him letters, he endorsed them "whymsie," and went on his way. If scatter-brained converts ran amuck of good order and wholesome usages, he told them they had gone out into imaginations, and that he "judged them in the Lord's power." He never wavered in his advocacy of the place and authority of the Church meetings. He risked secession and separation rather than stop the settlement of the Monthly and Quarterly meetings. But whilst he was fashioning them as a great centripetal force in the Society, he was at least as much alive to the necessity of guarding the centrifugal energy of aggressive evangelistic work, against the benumbing influences of wealth, ease and mysticism. Fox often failed to clothe his thoughts in the suitable garments of speech—but underneath his rugged ungrammatical sentences the thoughts of a ruler of men may be seen struggling for expression. It was not in stoical disregard of censure, and of the severing of religious and personal fellowship, that Fox laboured on for the last thirty years of his life, building up the framework of the Society. His touching epistles of expostulation with former friends, which I wish time permitted me to read, and the humble boldness with which he appealed to the example of his past life, recall the same traits in the Apostle of Tarsus. So working

"Ever in his great Task-master's eye,"

when the supreme moment came for this intrepid protester against sacerdotal assumption to pass to his last account, his

dying words, "The seed reigns over all disorderly spirits," bear witness to the stress of that long conflict whose history we have been tracing.

Some years ago I delivered two lectures before this Association, on the character of George Fox in connection with the Macaulay charges.* It was then shown how utterly inconsistent with facts was Macaulay's theory that Barclay and Penn were the real artificers of the Society's polity. The statesman-like manner in which Fox built up the disciplinary system, and the nobility with which he bore himself in the face of opposition from former friends, entirely discredited Lord Macaulay's portraiture. In recently reviewing the facts of this chapter in Fox's biography, in the light of some additional information, I am confirmed in the correctness of the views expressed thirty years ago.

It has been interesting to find that the late Robert Barclay, who probably did more than any living man in examining the original authorities for these events, came to the same conclusion by an entirely independent inquiry. He says:—"Great efforts were now made to discredit Fox's motives, charging him with ambition, and that his efforts for the establishment of a complete system of Church government were in order to increase his influence. Under these painful circumstances his religious character shone brighter and brighter to the last. While some of his eminent supporters used in the heat of controversy weapons of sarcasm and invective which, without injury to their cause, might have been well spared, Fox, in his energetic labours for the restoration of peace and unity, used his influence with persons who had violated every sense of honour, with true Christian gentleness, and touchingly appealed to their better feelings in vindicating his motives."†

This department of the subject will be fitly closed by the following sentences written by William Penn:—"But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our

* *An Inquiry into the Truthfulness of Lord Macaulay's Portraiture of George Fox.* London 1861. See Appendix I.

† *Inner Life*, 438, 439.

Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, who became their greatest trouble ; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience ; because he pressed by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was, in some, a begrudging of this man the love and esteem he had, and deserved in the hearts of the people ; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience."*

Returning now from the historical and personal aspects of the Ranter controversy, may I point out the changes two centuries have wrought in the manner of conducting such debates. In the main these changes have been for the better. Writers of the present day mostly recognise the claims of Christian courtesy far more than did their predecessors. With but little exception, Friends have desisted from hurling abusive epithets at one another as they did in the seventeenth century. Envy, falsehood, slander, errors, and false doctrines were amongst the milder epithets then bandied backwards and forwards.

But if we have gained in this respect we have lost in some others. The Friend controversialists of the Stuart period have left an impressive example in respect to the thoroughness and earnestness with which they set forth that which they believed true. The present generation of Friends, living in an age of unceasing activity—physical and mental—and with so many other affairs demanding attention, seems as though it could hardly devote the time and concentration of thought required for the elucidation of questions which come up for consideration. In the pamphlets I have introduced to your notice, we have seen Ellwood following Rogers from paragraph to paragraph, not disdaining to discuss with him questions almost irrelevant, like

* Introduction to Fox's *Journal*, xlviii, xlix.

the character of Micah's Mother, or whether the making of shoes for men or for horses was the more honourable, if thus he could establish his contention in relation to the main issues at stake. It was because he realised the gravity of those issues, that he was willing to devote so much labour to the details of his subject. In the personal interview between Ellwood and Rogers, with a company of Friends on both sides, which followed the Yearly Meeting in 1683, the discussion began at six o'clock in the morning, and continued till noon. At the Drawwell Conference, near Sedbergh, in 1676, four days were devoted to patiently talking over the points in controversy.

Again, in such works as Robert Barclay's *Anarchy of the Ranters*, in William Penn's *Spiritual Liberty*, and in many of George Fox's epistles, the deep underlying principles governing Church association and Church action are set forth with an ability and a copiousness of exposition, of which the present generation knows very little. With what care did Penn define terms like "Spiritual Liberty." The necessity for such definition is urgent—for without it people are constantly led into contention through attaching different meanings to the same terms. As Lord Bacon said:—"Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as, whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning."

In reviewing the progress of the Ranter controversy during the forty years over which, in one shape or another, it extended, one is impressed with the number of points, formerly matters of debate, which have now been settled. They have completely passed out of the range of controversy; the former sources of division have entirely ceased to separate.

The necessity for the existence of a system of Church government, and its compatibility with the enjoyment of spiritual teaching and guidance for the individual, are now practically admitted on all hands.

With respect to congregational worship, there is too much of indifference with us, as there always has been, but the idea that a regular attendance at meetings at a fixed time and place

shows less spiritual-mindedness than an intermittent attendance, has almost, if not entirely died out.

There does not any longer exist an appreciable difference of opinion respecting the observance of a stated order in the proceedings of public worship. It is admitted with practical unanimity that such observances as the general rising of the congregation, and the uncovering of the head during the time of public prayer, are more in accordance with the instincts of a spiritual religion than are diversities of practice, with their liability to lapse into disorder.

No one is now found advocating an intermittent and spasmodic holding of Church meetings as being less formal than their stated sessions. The jealousy of the Yearly Meeting, as likely to prove itself a Papal Council, has passed away.

The necessity of an orderly marriage procedure is universally admitted. The dangers connected therewith have latterly been in exactly the opposite direction to those of the first generation of Friends. A strong party then imperilled the marriage procedure from their restiveness at the imposition of necessary regulations. Of recent times it has been imperilled by being surrounded with so much of regulation as to make it unelastic and cumbersome in operation.

The place and service of the Women's Meetings for Discipline, so bitterly assailed two centuries ago, are no longer matters of dispute. The utility of these meetings has been proved by the experience of seven generations, and the hostility they at first excited in the breasts of so many men has passed away. Any dangers connected with them now lie in the direction of the Men's Meetings being disposed to put too much of the Church's service upon the sisters.*

* The following paragraph in *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, vol. ii., p. xxiv., was written by J.S.R. in 1906:—"Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Women Friends were extensively organised in the later years of the seventeenth century. In 1784 a representative Women's Yearly Meeting was established, with power to communicate directly with the subordinate Women's Meetings in this country, and to correspond with Women's Yearly Meetings in foreign parts. In 1896, London Yearly Meeting affirmed the position that "in future

Most satisfactory also has been the change of sentiment in the Society in respect to the education of the young. The responbilities of parental duty, and the blessing of religious teaching in the home and in the school, require the support of the Church from generation to generation, in view of the temptations to indifference and spiritual sloth. But there have not now been for some generations, any considerable number of Friends who profess to see in the neglect of home training, of Scriptural teaching, and of religious instruction, the best preparation for the work of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the young. No part of the Society's economy evokes so much of enthusiasm as do its public schools.

The problem of shaking hands has been completely solved. I know of no one who fears that he may be sanctioning an empty form by heartily shaking hands with his friends. The great majority are probably ignorant that such a fear, or shall we call it a fad ?—did once prevail.

Experience has, however, proved that in a few minor particulars the dissentient Friends took a more correct view as to the functions of Church meetings than did their opponents. The interference of the disciplinary meetings with private conduct did, in some districts, become excessive, leading to grotesque and most injurious results. The recent policy of the Society respecting the payment of ecclesiastical demands, and the censorship of the press, has also been in accordance with the policy advocated by the dissentient Friends two hundred years ago. Perhaps it may be added that experience seems to have indicated that it is difficult to introduce congregational singing, except occasionally, on the same lines as vocal ministry and vocal prayer, in the ordinary meetings of Friends.

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women Friends are to be recognised as forming a constituent part of all our Meetings for Church affairs equally with their brethren." This decision, whilst not intended entirely to abolish separate Women's Meetings for Discipline by merging them in those of the other sex, necessarily introduced large modifications of practice in the whole disciplinary system of the Society, to which effect has been given in the regulations affecting Meetings for Discipline, as set forth in the following pages."—[EDITOR.]

In considering the group of solved questions just enumerated, I would draw attention to the fact that their solution came through action, and the logic of facts, rather than through academic discussion. Education may be taken as an illustration. Fox, in appealing to parents, said that as a matter of fact many families of religious persons who neglected the training of their children, turned out worse than those of the openly irreligious. The inference was irresistible that this neglect was not the true note of a spiritual faith. The Yearly Meeting for 100 years kept insisting on the duty of education. Ackworth School was at last founded. Dr. Fothergill and his colleagues placed its superintendence under a non-salaried officer. Not unnaturally was it thought that the Superintendent's position was so responsible and essentially religious that he should not be remunerated in money. After testing this theory through three superintendencies, facts indicated that the theory did not hold good, and it was abandoned. No one now desires to have our schools superintended by unsalaried officers. Again, Scriptural instruction was not at first directly inculcated at Ackworth. Experience indicated the existence of a great want; and slowly and with divers misgivings that want was supplied. It was found practicable so to teach Scripture truth that it should be the handmaid of spiritual religion—though not religion itself. Now there is probably no feature of education to which the best mind of the Society is so sensitive as the Scriptural and religious side.

But let us look a little more closely at this interesting group of solved ecclesiastical problems. May it not in the first place awaken grateful thoughts that so many questions, formerly debated not only with earnestness but with acrimony, should now hardly ruffle the susceptibilities of any one? Then, too, it is observable that all the matters just enumerated are connected with the internal economy of the Society. This circumstance becomes additionally significant when we note the existence of a smaller group of problems which were the subjects of earnest debate two hundred years ago—and which remain so still. As the solved problems relate to the inner life of the Society, the

unsolved ones are chiefly connected with its outside aggressive work. Nor is the reason of this phenomenon far to seek. At the close of the seventeenth century, the mind of the Society was determined not to be diverted from the establishment and development of its disciplinary system. Before this determination all opposition ultimately gave way. But the Society's missionary work at home and abroad was allowed to sink into abeyance. Hence the debatable questions connected therewith could be deferred for the decision of a future generation. When a revival set in about 1760, the zeal of John Griffith and his colleagues still chiefly ran in the channels of internal organisation, and when at a still later period the evangelical movement in other Churches made its warmth felt amongst Friends, it shaped their undenominational philanthropic efforts, rather than any associated evangelistic work. It was not till the First-day Schools, and particularly the expansion of the Adult School work, had again brought Friends into close personal contact with the populations around them, that questions connected with the place, work, sustentation and distribution of the ministry, which had long slumbered, again assumed practical importance.

It is a significant and encouraging circumstance that one of these slumbering questions, which assumed a somewhat threatening attitude twenty-five years ago, has been quietly solved by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, founded in 1867. We have seen how William Rogers and his allies were exercised both about the work and the expense of foreign missionary labour. They were but too successful in discouraging it. A quarter of a century ago, the preliminary educational work of George Richardson and others, in respect to foreign missions, had accomplished its object, and the Society woke up to pay its debt of Christian love to the heathen in Madagascar and India. Very remarkable has been the success of this movement, especially in view of the comparatively recent time when Friends had no missionaries in heathen lands.*

* The Society of Friends now has mission stations in India, Madagascar, Syria, China and Ceylon.—[EDITOR.]

It is no matter of surprise that some unsettlement of thought should now be manifest amongst Friends in respect to the whole subject of the Christian ministry. Evidences of this have been apparent in recent discussions upon the Recording of Ministers, and upon the work, sustentation, and distribution of the ministry in connection with the labours of the Yearly Meeting's Home Mission Committee.* Some of these items of debate are curiously identical with those of two hundred years ago. It may be doubted however whether there are now as many persons in the Society who have probed these questions to their foundations, as there were then. The Ranter controversy did a great educational work for the first generation of Friends, of which there has been no counterpart in our time. Until the publication of Joseph John Dymond's pamphlet on the Ministry,† a very long interval had elapsed since that subject had been discussed in print, to any considerable extent, from the standpoint of a Friend. I have elsewhere pointed out how the signal success of Friends in influencing some of the great currents of national life is tending to withdraw their thoughts and energies from the affairs of their own denomination.‡ Those affairs, two centuries ago, included a grappling with the fundamental principles in the constitution of a Christian Church, and notably with the functions, responsibilities, and claims of its officers and its disciplinary meetings. One of the objects of my lecture has been to show the service rendered by the ecclesiastical statesmanship of Fox, by the logic of Barclay, the definitions of Penn, and the humour of Ellwood, and to express the conviction that all these talents still have their place in the service of the Church. It is a worthy aim to train men and women to serve their generation in the parliamentary, municipal, or educational affairs of the nation, but inasmuch as the great house of the Christian commonwealth requires many vessels for its service, is it not the mind of the Spirit that still not a few should chiefly devote themselves to the affairs of the household of faith ?

* See chaps. v. and vi.

† *Gospel Ministry in the Society of Friends*, 1892. ‡ See p. 228.

It is certain that the life and progress of the Church will from time to time present fresh problems for the solution of its members. In respect of these, whether such as are now before us, or those which may hereafter arise, past history shows the safety of bringing them to the early test of Scripture and of facts. The elementary error of the Ranters was their disregard of the fact—attested by Scripture and experience—that God had appointed to man's agency a certain place in the economy of His grace. Their theory has much that recommends it, both to the reason and the feelings, but it is vitiated by the evidence that Christ has otherwise determined the laws of His kingdom. It might be serviceable now if we could have a lucid restatement of the Scriptural teaching upon the institution, object, and scope of the Christian ministry—using the term in a sense inclusive of a wide variety of spiritual gifts.

We have seen, in the course of the present lecture, that helpful light is thrown upon the working out of elementary principles, not only by the experience of the Christian Church as a whole, but by the limited experience of the Society of Friends in particular. We have also seen how important it is that terms employed in discussion should be clearly defined, so that often-quoted phrases may not cover and perpetuate misty and imperfectly considered ideas.

A single illustration will help to elucidate my meaning. A good deal has been said latterly about a "separated ministry," the relevancy of which chiefly depends on what you mean by the phrase. If you mean a guild of men separated from their fellows, as in the Roman Catholic priesthood, by vows of celibacy and by the assumption of sacerdotal functions, you have an engine of priestcraft and spiritual despotism. But if you mean a body of men and women called to the ministry of the Word by the Spirit of God as the chief object of their lives, you have an institution of the first moment to the Church's life, health, and work, preserved to it from age to age in the appointment and the love of its Lord. The power of the early Christian ministry was closely connected with individual conviction that an Apostle was "separated

unto the Gospel of God,"* and with the perception of the Church, as at Antioch, that the Holy Ghost had bidden it "separate Barnabas and Saul" to a given work.† In this scriptural sense of the phrase a separated ministry might seem to be one of our most urgent wants at the present time. When the Society of Friends grasps the true magnitude and bearings of a line of policy, it can surmount many obstacles in carrying it to a successful issue. Notably has this been the case in respect to the Discipline, to Education, to Foreign Missions. We believe that, in like manner, a mastery of first principles as to the very purposes of Christian association for advancing the Redeemer's Kingdom at home and abroad, for which the Christian ministry is the chief instrumental agency, will help to solve in action these subsidiary questions of sustentation or distribution which may be formidable in theory but yield readily to the solvent of self-denying and persevering work.

I venture to think that no chapter in our Society's history is freighted for the reflective mind with a richer or more diversified teaching than is that which I have been dealing with. As we have passed from point to point, some of these lessons have been indicated, and others are too obvious to require insisting upon. I must have told my story very ill if it has not kindled in your memories—as it does in mine—a fresh sense of our indebtedness to the past; if it has not impressed you as being pregnant with suggestion in relation to the problems of the present; and also as throwing upon the horizon of the future both the shadow of warning and the beam of trustful hope.

* Romans i. 1. † Acts xiii. 2.

CHAPTER III.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ENGLAND.*

I.

Friends in the Seventeenth Century.

BIBLE readers cannot fail to observe how repeatedly the Hebrew poets and prophets sought to arouse zeal for God's service, or to awaken moral and spiritual reformation, by appeals to the past history of their nation. In fact, to a very large extent, both the Old and the New Testament Scriptures are the histories of events which transpired amongst the Jews and the nations with whom they were brought in contact. It will not be disputed that an intelligent apprehension of our Christian faith, and of the responsibilities it imposes upon us, demands a knowledge of the facts recorded in the Gospels. Correspondingly, some familiarity with the history of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and of the subsequent Puritan movement may form a very useful part of our mental equipment in dealing with the passing questions of our own times.

What then were the salient facts in the history of the two generations who first bore the name of Friends, or Quakers? I shall try concisely to answer this question and afterwards to

* Three papers read at the first Friends' Summer School (held at Scarborough, August, 1897), and addressed, in the author's words, to a gathering "animated by a common desire for help in the better discharge of religious service, and one in sympathy, if not in actual association with the Society of Friends. These characteristics of the audience demanded a different treatment of the subjects discussed from what would have been suitable for a popular company, consisting of persons of differing religious sentiments."

indicate the spiritual significance of the facts that will come before us.

The word Quakers occurs for the first time on the journals of Parliament in 1654, having been coined some four years before,* as a scornful sobriquet for a people who were bidding men to tremble before the holiness and majesty of God. Their leader was a Leicestershire shepherd, twenty-five years of age when Charles I. came to the scaffold. George Fox deemed himself a prophet, bearing a prophet's message to the world, and he was so accounted by thousands of Englishmen, when Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector. "The children of light," otherwise "The people called Quakers," were even then spreading over many parts of England and Wales, having also adherents in Scotland and Ireland. Their ministers, animated by a fervent zeal, not only laboured incessantly amongst the English-speaking peoples, but also traversed Europe and penetrated into the ancient kingdoms of Asia and of Africa. Others, no less intrepid, braved terrible sufferings, and a few years later martyrdom itself, at the hands of the children of the Pilgrim Fathers, in the Colonies of North America.

In 1656, the fanaticism of James Nayler, one of the most popular of the Friend preachers, directed the attention of Parliament to the Society, and involved it in great discredit. His fall did not however arrest its progress. His colleagues took to heart the lessons of the event—the peril of unduly exalting and separating one part of Gospel truth from its context—whilst Nayler himself, by a repentance of touching sincerity, rebuked the inhuman cruelty of his judges.

Cromwell was attracted towards Fox. The Protector recognised the fortitude and nobility of the Friends who asked to be

* In connection with current discussions upon the variations in Scripture narratives of the same events, it is curious to observe the different accounts given by Robert Barclay and George Fox of the origin of the word Quaker. When the Apologist in 1676 attributed it to the trembling of the worshippers, when sitting in meeting, under the power of the Holy Ghost [*Apology*, prop. xi., sect. viii.], he can hardly have been cognisant of the Gervase Bennet episode, as narrated by George Fox in his *Journal*, under date 1650. [Vol. 1, p. 58.]

allowed to take the places of co-religionists lying in horrible dungeons. There was, he said, a certain difference of character between them and all the men he had before known. Favourable as he was to religious toleration, Oliver was not able to shield the Friends from persecution, and under his administration there were sometimes not fewer than one thousand in prison at the same time. The national revulsion from the straitness of Puritanism to the licence of the Restoration did not mitigate the Friends' sufferings, nor did it arrest their numerical growth. They faced the persecution of the Episcopalians as boldly as they had done that of the Presbyterians. Their growing numbers demanded internal organisation and a system of Church government, which Fox succeeded in establishing, in the face of a most determined opposition.* The struggle extended over some years, and shook the Society to its centre. Meanwhile many of its adherents had established themselves in the New World beyond the Atlantic. Before the Habeas Corpus Act became the law of England, New Jersey had been colonised, and its constitution settled on a broad basis of popular and religious freedom. The foundation of Philadelphia in 1682 further stamped the impress of Quakerism on the growing colonies in North America. The accession of William and Mary in 1688, and the passing of the Toleration Act in the succeeding year, virtually emptied the English prisons of their Nonconformist inmates. When Fox died, two years later, the religious liberty for which he had so fearlessly laboured and suffered, had to a great extent been secured in Great Britain and Ireland. The visible tokens of success which attended the ministry of Fox were very remarkable. At the time of his death, the Friends were not fewer than 50,000 or 60,000 in this country, constituting more than fifty per cent. of its Nonconformity, and equalling the combined strength of the Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists.† They had founded two colonies in North America, and were numerous in the other settlements. When

* See chapter ii.

† See Turner's *The Quakers*, 236; Rowntree's *Quakerism, Past and Present*, 71.

persecution had been specially rife in London, the city merchants had deprecated its continuance as interfering with their commercial prosperity. An opponent, however much he was exaggerating, must have possessed some justification for asserting that no Bishop of the Established Church had the control of as much money as Fox had, in the later years of his life, for the service of the Society. When the seventeenth century closed, a vast change in the whole character and spirit of the Society had in reality set in, but so far as appeared to outside observers, its members were enjoying both religious and temporal prosperity. The spiritual power which had enabled them to surmount the fanaticism of Nayler and Perrot, as well as the impracticable hyper-spirituality of Wilkinson and Story, was only less conspicuous than the fortitude with which cruel persecution had been overcome, in the might of passive resistance. The rise of Friends is, in its entirety, one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the Christian Church. The influences by which it was accomplished were exclusively moral and spiritual. Physical force had no place in the movement, any more than it had in the first diffusion of Christianity. The military discipline which had made the armies of the Commonwealth invincible was altogether foreign to the genius of Quakerism, even in the days of its militant youth. Many of Oliver's veterans became Friends, but their carnal weapons were exchanged for those spiritual arms which are "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." The great majority of the Friends were yeomen, artisans, tradesmen, soldiers, sailors, and persons in the middle and humbler walks of life, with a small infusion of clergy, gentry, and "honourable women."

What then was the attractive and cohesive force which had gathered these people and endued them with such virtue to labour or to suffer on behalf of that which they accounted "the Truth?" The safest course for arriving at a right answer to this question will be to ask the persons immediately concerned, and to take note of their replies. Respecting his own message Fox says he was "to turn people to that inward light, Spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God;

even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any."* In his proclamation of this message the speaker drew upon a deep personal experience of the things whereon he insisted. "The inwardness and weight of his spirit," wrote Penn, "the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know Him most will see most reason to approach Him with reverence and fear."†

Isaac Penington, the son of Alderman Penington, who was a member of the Long Parliament and Governor of the Tower of London, wrote: "Had I not seen the power of God in this despised people, and received from the Lord an unquestionable testimony concerning them, I had never looked towards them; for they were otherwise very despicable in my eyes. And this I cannot but testify concerning them, that I have found the life of God in owning them, and that which God hath begotten in my heart refreshed, by the power of life in them."‡

Robert Barclay, the son of Captain Barclay of Ury, one of Gustavus Adolphus's soldiers, said: "I myself am a true witness who, not by strength of arguments, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and convincement of my understanding thereby, came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life; for when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it I found the evil weakening in me and the good raised up, and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed."§

* *Journal*, i., 36. † Preface to Fox's *Journal*, xlvii.
‡ *Memoirs of Isaac Penington*, 73. § *Apology*, prop. xi., sect. 7.

Margaret Fell endorsed a packet of her letters in these terms :— "The epistles were written at the first appearance of truth amongst us when we were young in it. The light of Christ being our first principle, our minds being turned to it we saw perfectly there was no safety or preservation of us out of sin and transgression, but as we dwelt in the light. And so as we waited in it, and dwelt in it, we came to witness a washing and cleansing by the blood of Jesus. And we came to discern betwixt the precious and the vile, betwixt the holy and the unclean, and betwixt the chaff and the wheat, and between those that served God and those that served Him not."*

The writer of these lines had long been a seriously minded woman when her spirit was so wrought upon as she listened to Fox's preaching that she could not keep her seat in Ulverston church, "having never heard the like before." The preacher had himself, after a long and weary search, found God the Father of spirits to be very nigh and very precious to his own soul; and he possessed a magnetic power of leading his hearers up to the same experience.

In 1671, travelling in Barbadoes, Fox tells how Colonel Lyne, "a sober person," attended his meetings and said, "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you; who say you do not own Christ, nor that He died; whereas I perceive *you exalt Christ in all His offices*, beyond what I have ever heard before."†

It would be easy to multiply testimonies like these, almost indefinitely. Their phraseology would differ, but a common agreement would run through all, that in association with the "children of light," and in the reception of their faith, the writers had been brought into a nearer, more soul-satisfying knowledge of God than they had before realised. The cardinal reason why George Fox became so eminent a leader of religious thought, and accomplished the great work that he did, was his power, springing from a first-hand personal experience, of arousing men to a perception of the Divine immanence in their own hearts and consciences. *He brought men immediately to Christ.* And that

* *The Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 96. † *Journal*, ii., 153.

which was true of Fox was true in varying degree of his fellow-preachers. I can entertain no doubt but that here we have the essential explanation of the place which the Friends so quickly attained to in the religious life of the seventeenth century, and am confirmed in the soundness of this view by observing that its truth is apparent to men of spiritual susceptibility, who have studied the subject, though separated by wide ecclesiastical differences from the stand-point of a Friend. The clear but unspiritual intellect of Macaulay utterly failed to grasp the significance and true nobility of Fox's character. There is no greater blunder in the brilliant pages of *The History of England* than the caricature portrait of George Fox.* The more sympathetic mind of Bancroft only partially apprehended the real inwardness of the Quaker movement when he discerned in it a philosophy, instead of a religion. On the other hand, a High Church clergyman, like Hancock, said the Friends "bore to the world the clearest witness of God's redeeming grace and forgiveness, which was heard in England during the whole of the seventeenth century: they declared that no man, woman or child under heaven was left without Christ's sufficient Light and Grace. They bore a witness against all the efforts of worn and restless spirits to find rest in outward alterations of the State and Church, in reformations, godly disciplines, parliaments: the Saviour of men comes to them where their disease is—within. They bore also a more self-evident witness of condemnation against the world than any of the sects were doing, since they attested the Light and Grace of the Saviour in every one, and that no one was left unspoken to by Him."†

Bishop Westcott wrote:—"Fox realised, as few men have ever realised, that we are placed under the dispensation of the Spirit: that THE POWER FROM ON HIGH with which the risen Christ promised to endue His people was no exceptional or transitory gift, but an Eternal Presence, an unfailing spring of energy, answering to new wants and new labours. He felt that the Spirit which had guided the fathers was waiting still to lead forward

* See Appendix I. † *The Peculium*, 33.

their children: that He who spoke through men of old was not withdrawn from the world, like the gods of Epicurus, but ready in all ages to ENTER INTO HOLY SOULS AND MAKE THEM FRIENDS OF GOD AND PROPHETS.

"In this conviction Fox himself 'saw' the Truth, Christ Himself shewing it. He gained, that is, the direct assurance that the Gospel is not words, but facts, not a tradition, but a voice even now to the heart of man, which man can recognise and embody in life."*

Canon Curteis, preaching before Oxford University, said:—"Behold . . this childlike soul, this babe in Christ, this man of one book—but that book the Bible—step forth amid the confused Babel that called itself English Christianity in the seventeenth century, to bear testimony in the name of God to the inner truth and meaning of all these things that the sects were battling over. He thought himself a prophet, a 'Nabi,' like one of those in the Old Testament. And, for my own part, I will not undertake to say he was not. For his 'heart was hot within him; and at last he spake with his tongue.'"† It will not be needful to adduce further evidence to support our contention that the power of the first generation of Friends primarily resided in a realising sense of their habitual nearness to God. Not in secret places, on sacred days, or with sacred persons was this blessed presence—*the real presence*—to be alone known. They would have said Amen to the recently found *logion*, as lately expounded to us: "Christ is with the disciple, not merely in the act of worship, where two or three are gathered together, but in the everyday labour of the world. In labour He is found. He is with us just as much in toil and work as in fasting and meditation and prayer. His presence is as real when we raise the stone, or cleave the wood, as when actually engaged in worship."

This sense of the Divine immanence has not, however, been the exceptional possession of one body of seventeenth century Englishmen. It has been recognised by men in every age, and of many races. Canon Curteis, whose Bampton Lectures have

* *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 125. † *Dissent*, 254.

been already quoted, would minimise the significance of this witness of the early Friends, because the "majestic truth" they proclaimed was but that department of the Church's creed which declares :—"I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son ; Who, with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified ; Who spake by the prophets."*

Penn would not have dissented from this doctrine. *Primitive Christianity Revived* was the title of a treatise he published, descriptive of the doctrines and practices of the Friends. It does not, however, lessen the significance of this, their primary affirmation, that it was not for the first time enunciated by them. The truth which was dear to Robert Barclay and to Stephen Crisp, was not less precious in their estimation because they knew that it had also been precious to Echard, and to Tauler, and to Thomas à Kempis, and to many other of God's saints. The re-discovery and authoritative proclamation of a forgotten or greatly obscured truth was a notable service to the Church universal, just as was that of Martin Luther, in setting forth the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, though, fifteen centuries before, St. Paul had luminously expounded the same doctrine to the Roman Christians. A more pertinent and fruitful line of inquiry is suggested by the consideration that whilst many men of spiritual discernment have insisted on the truth of the Divine immanence, so few of these have concurred with the Friends as regards other branches of their doctrine and practice. Three Roman Catholic contemporaries of George Fox—Pascal, 1623-1662, Guyon, 1646-1717, and Molinos, 1627-1696, were at one with him in teaching the reality of the Divine indwelling. There was undoubtedly a further measure of agreement in a joint recognition of the requirements of personal obedience and practical holiness of life, as conditions for realising this indwelling. But presently, the Romanist and the Protestant parted company ; the former conformed to the Church's ritual, partook of the mass, confessed to the priest, and virtually accepted the whole Papal hierarchical

* *Dissent*, 252.

system. Fox discarded rite and ceremony, and every form of exclusive sacerdotalism. Molinos tried to build up his friends in a Spirit-governed life in association with all the pageantry of the Romish church ; Fox laboured for the edification of his friends, in separation from existing ecclesiastical systems, and in the disuse of sacramental media. To discover the explanation of this wide divergence in practice, it will be desirable to look at the pathway of religious experience trodden by Fox. It was a pathway which could hardly have been so trodden in any other period than that of Puritan England.

When the Long Parliament met, the Authorised Version of Holy Scripture had been read by the English people through the lifetime of an entire generation, and its influence was showing itself in many directions. The English Bible had quickened the desire for political enfranchisement, for intellectual freedom, for deliverance from regal and priestly tyranny, and for a presentation of religion which should be more spiritual, practical, and fruitful in bettering the lot of the common people than that offered by Romish priests, Anglican prelates, or Presbyterian ministers. We can mark the evidences of these yearnings in Milton's stately verse. Few of his lines are more familiar, through constant quotation, than those in which he tells of the people's discovery that—

> "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large" ;

or that, under varying teaching—

> "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

Edwards's *Gangræna*, published in 1643, is invaluable for enabling us to hear, as it were, the multitude of voices which then rent the air discussing every phase of religious faith and practice. Edwards was himself a Presbyterian minister, who would have had all England brought under a national system of religion, uniform with that of Scotland. The want of uniformity permitted by the Independents distressed him, and he went on cataloguing sentiments he deemed heretical, all of which, he says, had their advocates, till he had attained to the formidable total

of 252. Here we see reflected, as in a mirror, the state of English opinion, when Fox left his home at Drayton, to enter on that long search for truth and peace of which he has told the story in his *Journal*. It was an England as different as possible from that of the Wesleys a century later, when interest in religion was at its lowest point. In the days of Marston Moor and of Naseby, England was seething with debate concerning religion. This was the theme in the mouths of men everywhere, whether in Parliament or the Westminster Assembly, the Court of Charles or the army of Fairfax. The London apprentices, the Bedfordshire peasantry who listened to Bunyan, the men who were looking wistfully to the New England colonies, and those who were corresponding with the reformed Churches of Scotland or of Germany, all had their thoughts occupied with religious questions. Up to his twentieth year Fox must have had the upbringing of a Leicestershire peasant, living in a superior Puritan home, leading an orderly life, attending church, and having intercourse with the local clergy. Then followed some years wherein these associations were almost entirely suspended. The young shepherd moved from place to place, asking questions of all sorts of people, finding everywhere the great interest taken in religion, but nowhere an exemplification of it which met all the longings of his heart, or commended itself altogether to his conscience; though he admits meeting with many "tender people." Hence Fox was increasingly thrown back upon mental introversion, on private prayer, solitary waiting upon God, Scripture reading, and withdrawal from human fellowship: nights and days he passed in the fields and on the moors alone with his Bible and his God. When the vision of the Eternal was at last vouchsafed him, it came to a man who had been loosened from all ecclesiastical associations; he was not then breathing an ecclesiastical atmosphere. His environment was as different as possible from that of Luther in the monastery of Erfurt, or of Molinos in the city of Rome, when they passed through their spiritual baptisms. In the spiritual, as in the physical world, life takes its complexion, in degree at least, from its surroundings. In the instance before us we have a man

primarily framing his conceptions of Christian truth from the Bible, knowing and feeling all the wants and aspirations of the common people from whose ranks he had himself sprung. Can it be any matter of surprise that the Gospel of the Kingdom presented itself to Fox in very different guise from that which it assumed to men who had never passed from beneath the shadow of the monastery, or had their gaze removed from the visible things, which are temporal, to the unseen things which are eternal ?

When Fox became conscious of the nearness of the Spirit of God to his own soul, he never dreamt for a moment that this was a privilege peculiar to himself. He constantly appealed to the universality of the light, "the true Light," "which lighteth every man coming into the world." Nor did he deem that the continued manifestation of this light was dependent upon the ministrations of any order of men, or was limited to sacred times or places. He did, however, clearly recognise that the heavenly indwelling was not to be known independently of conduct fashioned in obedience to the Divine will. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the stress laid by the early Friends upon this prominent feature of their teaching. Already many persons had declared the doctrine of the Divine immanence, men and women of saintly lives, as well as others who had counted it rather as a philosophical dogma than as a religious principle fashioning conduct, but few, if any, had insisted with equal earnestness that doing the Divine will is the condition for growing in the knowledge of God's truth. Hence, everything that appeared contrary to the Divine will—the usages of society, the ceremonies of religion—sanctioned by human authority, or consecrated by long usage, was brushed aside or testified against in obedience to apprehended duty. It is open to us to think some of these apprehensions of duty mistaken, and yet to recognise that the people who gave such unquestioning obedience to the dictates of the inspeaking Word, were dwelling by the perennial springs of spiritual power.

Bishop Westcott admirably described the attitude of the early Friends towards gospel truth, as affected by their view of the Divine indwelling :—

"The facts of intercourse with God, of affinity to God, must, if they are received, find expression in life. The life of believers is, in Christ's own words, the revelation of God to the world. Fox accepted the consequence and insisted upon it. He could not conceive of religion and morality apart. His labours were from first to last a comment on the text, 'If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk.' For him, justification was indeed a making and not an accounting just, not forensic, but vital; and conduct was the sign of the fact. No one ever required more absolutely than Fox that 'righteousness, peace, joy,' should be the marks of the Christian commonwealth. . . . In spite of every infirmity and disproportion, he was able to shape a character in those who followed him which, for independence, for truthfulness, for vigour, for courage, for purity, is unsurpassed in the records of Christian endeavour. And this he did by connecting the loftiest thoughts and the commonest obligations alike with a personal sense of a divine communion. He made each member of his society responsible for his brethren. He opened to all, without distinction, the opportunity for spiritual influence : he imposed upon all the charge of social duties. He jealously guarded the sacred dignity of man. . . . He taught the Friends to trust to principles and leave consequences to God : to confess their ideal even when attainment was for the time impossible. We cannot wonder therefore that the Society of Friends has achieved results wholly out of proportion to their numbers."*

A singular charm of the Scarborough Summer School has been the enthusiasm of the different lecturers for their subjects—an enthusiasm which they have measurably communicated to their hearers. Whilst we are prepared to hail the resurgent forms of Arioch, of Ellasar, and of Chedorlaomer, should they present themselves duly accredited, and are not regardless of the aureoles on the brows of St. Patrick and St. Columba, it ought also to be possible to make the history with which we are now occupied so real, that it too would throb with pathos and be vivid in the affluence of its practical teaching. If the Friends of the

* *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 128, 129, 130.

seventeenth century had numbered in their ranks a story-teller like Bunyan, or a poet like Whittier, the world would not be so ignorant of them as it is. How remarkably were they in advance of their age, not on one subject only, but on so many! When we mention religious liberty—living wages for English labourers—work for beggars—reformation of the penal code—the purification of prisons—the abolition of oaths—the furtherance of international peace—the enfranchisement of the negro slave—the just treatment of the Red Indian—we do but make a very imperfect catalogue. Most of us have heard of the mean estimation in which women were formerly held, even by men so wise as Socrates, the son of Sirach, and the historian Ædda. From this error—or probably I ought to stay this low stage of evolution—the majority of the early Friends were notably delivered. It is now understood that residence, however brief, in a university town is almost essential for speaking authoritatively on the educational requirements of women, but two centuries ago this privilege was not available to the Friends, and indeed opinion was in a deplorably retrograde state at Oxford. When Elizabeth Leavens and Elizabeth Fletcher visited that city, the undergraduates are reported to have tied the ladies together with a cord, put them under a pump, and dragged them through a ditch. A cruel flogging followed a few days afterwards. How far removed was this brutality from the policy of the Leicestershire peasant, who, with few advantages of education or of culture, but with a nature made sensitive to the inbreathings of God's Spirit, opened the Christian ministry to women, gave them a responsible share in the government of the Church, defined in noble words the wide range of female education, and extracted from Scripture every passage from Genesis to Revelation that could encourage women faithfully to discharge their priestly offices in the home and in the Church! When the Parish Councils' Act declared that sex was not to constitute a disqualification for office; * and when the members of this Summer School listen to the wise and eloquent words which fall

* 67-7 Vict. ch. 73, 1894, sec. iii. 2.

from its lady lecturers, we share the triumph of the enlightened policy enunciated and suffered for by Fox.

How then do we stand in regard to the question proposed for consideration at the outset of this discussion? Some of the positions reached are matters of fact—hardly admitting of challenge—*e.g.* the commanding position, numerical and moral, occupied by Friends when the seventeenth century expired; others are necessarily more open to debate, as being the result of individual opinion. May I indicate, under six or seven heads, the salient points established, in my apprehension, by the facts that have come before us, and some of the lessons that arise out of them?

(1) I would emphasise the fact that the Friends arose at the most religious period of English history—not, like the Methodists, a century later, when the people were practically destitute of religion, but when a presentation of Christianity was required more spiritual, ethical, and practical in shaping conduct than any offered by existing ecclesiastical systems.

(2) By the concurrent testimony of many witnesses the "people called Quakers" were recognised as different from other religionists, whether the difference was liked or disliked. They constituted a fresh element in English religious life. By their foes they were bitterly hated throughout the whole of the seventeenth century. Such were the votaries of pleasure, the lovers of sport, music, art, and the drama; the clergy who found their services dispensed with and their tithes not paid; whilst saintly men like Bunyan, Baxter, and Roger Williams were honestly alarmed at the progress of a faith which seemed to them derogatory to the authority of Scripture, and dishonouring to the incarnation and sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, multitudes who did not concern themselves with the Friends' theology greatly appreciated their integrity in trade. Mothers sent their little children to the shops where they would be honestly dealt with. Visitors resorting to Scarborough sought out the Friend lodging-house keepers as desirable hosts whilst tarrying by the sea-side. Even those

who might be offended at their singular speech, and dislike their sober attire and unwonted usages, wept over their sufferings, did homage to their constancy under persecution, and esteemed them as kindly and helpful neighbours.

(3) Within a period shorter than the reign of Queen Victoria, the Society arose and grew to a numerical strength which placed it at the head of the Free Churches of Great Britain. It had founded colonies—homes of civil and religious liberty. It had established a marriage ceremonial which had been recognised by the courts of law, established a system of registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and provided places of sepulture for its dead. For a period of forty years it had endured a terrible persecution, and by the might of passive resistance had borne a foremost part in working that change in public opinion towards religious liberty which was embodied in the provisions of the Toleration Act.

(4) The growth and progress of the Society were repeatedly imperilled by acts of fanaticism and of folly. Men and women, sometimes maddened by suffering, proved unable to bear the strain imposed by the conscious possession of spiritual power, or the adulation of flatterers. In others there was a mental incapacity to see that spiritual liberty is not incompatible with—and indeed requires for its permanency—order, decency, organisation, and the ministrations of office bearers in the Church.

(5) The central source of the power of the Society was, we hold, the assured faith of its people in the reality of immediate spiritual intercourse between man and God, the blessedness of this communion being more or less consciously experienced by very many amongst them. It was an experience open to all who were walking in the Light, without distinction of race, station, sex, or age; it was altogether independent of sacred places, sacred buildings, sacred times, or sacred persons.

(6) To the same source, in association with human frailty, or through dislocation from its appointed relationship to correlative truth, the majority of their troubles are attributable. The humility and sobriety of Nayler gave way before the temptation

to spiritual pride; Perrot was successively the claimant of spiritual illumination, the pertinacious opponent of order in public worship, and finally the persecutor of his quondam friends. Story, Rogers, and Wilkinson were leaders of a bitter opposition, extending over years, to the establishment of Church government in the Society, the recognition of the place of women in Church government and ministry, and, generally, to the use of means for the maintenance and spread of Gospel truth.

(7) A final consideration arising out of the foregoing is the wisdom of reverently observing, and practically accepting as a principle of conduct, the respective places assigned in the Gospel economy to the immediate ministrations of the Holy Ghost, and to human effort. The teaching of Scripture, the long story of the Church, the present-day facts of individual and congregational life are all available for our guidance. Is it not their harmonious testimony that redeemed and illumined men are to be "workers together with God" in furthering the purposes of His grace?

> ". . . God, whose pleasure brought
> Man into being, stands away
> As it were a handbreadth off, to give
> Room for the newly-made to live,
> And look at him from a place apart,
> And use his gifts of brain and heart,
> Given, indeed, but to keep for ever."

II.

The Attitude of Friends towards Language and Religious Liberty.

I cannot attempt in the present series of lectures to review the entire history of the Society of Friends. If such a review were possible, the sequel to the point reached in the former paper would be an examination of the remarkable change which came over the Society in the period covered by the reigns of William III., Anne, and the first and second Georges. It was

a change which transformed the most aggressive of Protestant denominations into one permeated by quietism, retiring more and more from conflict with outside foes, becoming increasingly self-centred and concerned in internal organisation. If the year 1930 should find the Salvation Army exhibiting a Church life resembling that of the "Brethren" at the present day, the change would hardly be greater than that which came over the Friends in the thirty or forty years succeeding the death of Fox. But we have not the time necessary for undertaking such an historical study, and it has appeared preferable to consider the attitude of Friends towards two subjects, apparently so little connected as human speech and religious liberty, which have nevertheless in their view been intimately associated, as matters of conduct and of conscience. I propose, then, to invite attention to that which has been said by some of our poets, and to note their view of the impress made upon the world by Friends.

The first part of *Hudibras*, Samuel Butler's famous satire on Puritanism, was published in 1662. The second part, which appeared in the succeeding year, contains one of the earliest references in British poetry to Friends:—

> "Quakers (that, like to lanthorns, bear
> Their light within 'em) will not swear.
> Their gospel is an accidence,
> By which they construe conscience,
> And hold no sin so deeply red,
> As that of breaking Priscian's head,
> (The head and founder of their order,
> That stirring hats held worse than murder).
> These thinking th'are obliged to troth
> In swearing, will not take an oath:
> Like mules, who, if th'have not their will
> To keep their own pace, stand stock still."*

Dryden published the *Hind and Panther* in 1678. He only gives two lines to the Friends, so far as I have observed:—

> "Among the timorous kind the quaking hare
> Professed neutrality, but would not swear."

* Part ii. canto ii. 219.

The *Essays of Elia*, whilst models of pure English prose, are poetical in the delicacy of their perceptive power. In his essay on *Imperfect Sympathies*, Lamb says :—

"The indirect answers which Quakers are often found to return to a question put to them may be explained, I think, without the vulgar assumption that they are more given to evasion and equivocating than other people. They naturally look to their words more carefully and are more cautious of committing themselves. They have a peculiar character to keep up on this head. They stand in a manner upon their veracity. A Quaker is by law exempted from taking an oath. The custom of resorting to an oath in extreme cases, sanctified as it is by all religious antiquity, is apt (it must be confessed) to introduce into the laxer sort of minds the notion of two kinds of truth—the one applicable to the solemn affairs of justice, and the other to the common proceedings of daily intercourse. As truth bound upon the conscience by an oath can be but truth, so in the common affirmations of the shop and the market-place a latitude is expected and conceded upon questions wanting this solemn covenant. Something less than truth satisfies. It is common to hear a person say, "You do not expect me to speak as if I were upon my oath." Hence a great deal of incorrectness and inadvertency, short of falsehood, creeps into ordinary conversation, and a kind of secondary or laic-truth is tolerated, where clergy-truth, oath-truth, by the nature of the circumstances, is not required. A Quaker knows none of this distinction. His simple affirmation being received upon the most sacred occasions, without any further test, stamps a value upon the words which he is to use upon the most indifferent topics of life. He looks to them naturally with more severity. You can have of him no more than his word."†

Tennyson does not write so sympathetically as Lamb, when he notes the sometimes subtle distinctions of Friendly speech. In his *Northern Farmer: New Style*, we find :—

"Do'ant be stunt : taäke time : I knaws what maäkes tha sa mad.
Warn't I craäzed fur the lasses mysén when I wur a lad ?
But I knaw'd a Quaäker feller as often 'as towd ma this :
'Doänt thou marry fur munny, but goä wheer munny is ! ' "

More pleasantly, Longfellow says that when Evangeline

"landed, an exile,
Finding among the children of Penn a home and a country,
* * * * * * *

† *Elia and Eliana*, 79.

Something at least there was in the friendly streets of the city,
Something that spake to her heart, and made her no longer a stranger;
And her ear was pleased with the Thee and Thou of the Quakers,
For it recalled the past, the old Acadian country,
Where all men were equal, and all were brothers and sisters."

It will be seen that the five distinguished authors here quoted have all fastened upon their speech as being a characteristic of Friends. Nor can this be a matter of surprise, for undoubtedly they have attached great moment to various matters of language. We have before seen that their central thought of the Divine immanence in man has, to a large extent, been held practically as a principle of conduct, not sentimentally as a doctrine of philosophy. Spiritual affinity with Christ implies friendship, and friendship does not co-exist with wilful disobedience. Much of Christ's teaching related to human speech, because this is an index of the state of the heart and mind: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Truthfulness, reverence, and purity of speech were seen by Fox and his comrades to be strongly insisted upon in Scripture, and to be closely associated with personal holiness. So they applied these spiritual principles, ingeniously, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly to the reform of human speech: sometimes, it should be frankly said, with a zeal that outstripped knowledge. But even when we do not unite with all the scruples of the early Friends, as very few now do, if the root of these scruples be traced out, it will almost always be found to lead up to one or more of the great spiritual principles just indicated. We can hardly wonder that Butler saw a new grammarian, a Priscian, in Fox, when we recur to the catalogue of reforms in language which he originated, or appropriated from others. They fall under five or six heads:—(1) The avoidance of flattering titles; (2) Of terms derived from heathen mythology; (3) Of words implying that all times and seasons were not equally good; (4) Of terms used in an applied and possibly misleading sense, like church for the building in which the Church meets; and (5) The refusal to take an oath under any circumstances, whilst always

speaking the truth. Some of these scruples it was absolutely impossible to carry out universally, and others have not permanently commended themselves to the consciences or judgments of men. But we can see underlying all the sense of the constant Christian obligation to *truthfulness*, *reverence*, and *purity* in speech. The present generation of Friends have mostly abandoned the majority of those linguistic peculiarities, which their predecessors deemed so important. This may have been a right course without its implying that the scruples felt in the seventeenth century were unworthy of regard. Some of those scruples have had effect given them in a different direction from that which was first suggested. George Fox proposed to remove the invidious distinction of persons implied in the use of " thou " to some and of " you," to others, by addressing all with the singular pronoun. The popular democratic growth in language has taken the opposite direction of addressing the plural pronoun to all, without distinction of rank and station. In a language like the English, so rich in fossil history, it was impossible to eliminate all the terms derived from heathen mythology—even had it been desirable. When, for instance, Thursday and Friday have become Fifth and Sixth days, we are still left with scores of towns and villages, like Thorganby and Fridaythorp, commemorating the same deities. With the larger knowledge of language now enjoyed, it cannot be a matter of surprise that many of the ancient scruples of the Friends have been abandoned. I cannot, however, but feel that true thoughts underlay most of these scruples, and that still the obligation to truthfulness in speech requires to be steadily maintained. Why should persons subscribe themselves the " obedient servant " of a single correspondent, or of a constituency, when so many unobjectionable formulas are available ? The responsibility of human speech has been admirably enforced by writers like Trench, Alford, and Goulburn, occupying an altogether different standpoint from that of the early Friends but substantially agreeing with them in this, that they would have men to weigh their words. Why should not we be more jealous of the purity of our noble language ?

The entire disuse of oaths was the most memorable and interesting item in the reform of human speech proposed by the Friends. The subject deserves more attention than it usually receives. The Friends were by no means the first Christians who had scrupled to take judicial oaths, but they succeeded, in the years 1650-90, in elevating the question to a position it had never before occupied. They constantly appealed to Christ's command, "Swear not at all," and urged the cogency of the reason assigned for not exceeding "Yea, yea; nay, nay"—that it "cometh of evil." Any kind of swearing, said the early Friends, introduces two standards of truthfulness; our testimony is to speech *absolutely truthful under all circumstances*. This had been the doctrine of John Wyckliffe and other Lollard leaders of the Albigenses, as well as of many of the early Baptists to whom the Anglican Church had replied in its thirty-ninth Article:—

"As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ and James, His Apostle, so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth."

The counter position of the Friends has been tersely expressed by Robert Barclay in these terms:—

"It is not lawful for Christians to swear at all under the Gospel, not only not vainly, and in their common discourse, which was also forbidden under the Mosaical law, but even not in judgment before the Magistrate."*

In support of this position the Friends made sacrifices, the magnitude of which is often forgotten. I should like to recall two or three instances.

Francis Howgill, of Grayrigg, Westmorland, born 1618, was a minister of great power who, in company with Edward Burrough in 1654, preached in London, with great success, those spiritual views of Christian truth which had become precious to him. In

* *Apology*, prop. xv., sect. 5.

1663, when engaged upon his ordinary business in Kendal market, Howgill was arrested and haled before a magistrate then sitting at a tavern, who directed him to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Howgill refused to swear, but repeatedly stated that he was a loyal and peaceable man. For this refusal to swear he was kept five and a half years in Appleby gaol, suffering many cruelties, till death released him from his gaolers in the last days of 1668.

In 1680, Thomas Hymans, of Bridgwater, appeared at the Gloucester Assizes to give evidence against two highwaymen who had robbed him of £17 15s. The usual oath was tendered him, which he refused, urging that Christ had forbidden all swearing, but saying that he would give his evidence truthfully "as in the presence of God." In consequence he was himself committed to prison and fined, instead of the thieves who had robbed him.

A similar case was that of Henry Hodges, of Reading, a poor blacksmith who had three cows stolen, as was proved by the evidence of his neighbours, whilst Hodges himself, for refusing to give evidence on oath, was fined and imprisoned.

These are but three instances out of hundreds of a similar character, which occurred during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. The Friends steadily urged, throughout these years of persecution, that they should be allowed to affirm in place of swearing, and suffer all the penalties attaching to perjury if their affirmation were not true. In his famous discourse on *The Liberty of Prophesying*, Jeremy Taylor had written against allowing an exemption from swearing to tender consciences.* Fox, on the other hand, argued that persons precluded by their consciences from swearing would be found to give truthful evidence, and that the State would in consequence reap the benefit. Experience has remarkably vindicated this opinion. For more than two hundred years the penalties attaching to false affirmation have been the same as those for perjury. After making careful inquiry in this country and in the United States, I have been unable to

* Jeremy Taylor's *Works*, viii., 212.

discover that any person has ever been convicted of making a false affirmation.

The Toleration Act of 1689 conferred upon Friends the great boon of being allowed to affirm in many cases where an oath had previously been necessary. The twelfth clause of this Act ran :—

"Whereas there are certain persons . . . . . who scruple the taking of an oath . . . . . every such person shall make and subscribe this declaration of fidelity, following :

"'I, A. B., do sincerely promise and solemnly declare before God and the world that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary.'"

Fox, who had suffered his longest imprisonment, that in Lancaster and Scarborough Castles, 1663-66, for refusing to swear, lived two years after the passing of the Toleration Act ; and the evening of his life was brightened by seeing the prisons almost emptied of Friends. It became apparent, however, in a little while, that their trouble in connection with oaths was not ended. Some of their number scrupled to use the affirmation ; the words "before God" being those they stumbled at. It was said that this clause virtually made the affirmation into an oath. But the majority of the Friends did not so construe it. Penn, Whitehead, Margaret Fox, and others held that it was but a solemn declaration. But there were good and earnest men who thought differently, and who showed the reality of their scruples by remaining in prison for years rather than avail themselves of the privilege approved by the majority of their brethren. William Richardson, of Ayton, in North Yorkshire, allowed himself to be fined, till one-third of his little property was sacrificed, because he scrupled to take the affirmation in excise transactions, required in his business of a tanner. The strife occasioned by this difference of opinion respecting the affirmation became vehement between the two groups of Friends. About the time when George I. came to the English throne, it seemed as if the Society might be rent in twain in consequence. Ultimately a legislative enactment, obtained in 1722, expunging the words, "in the presence of God" from the Friends' affirmation, closed the controversy. It is

significant as showing how good and conscientious men, having the same end in view, may differ as to the means of attaining it, and how wise it is for such to cultivate a forbearing and tolerant spirit. The real issue in this controversy was—what is an oath? What is it to swear? Swearing is not merely using strong language or foolish language, or even idle words. "An oath may be defined," says the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "as an asseveration or promise made under non-human penalty or sanction." Milton's definition, in his posthumous treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, is more perspicuous:—"An oath is that whereby we call God to witness the truth of what we say, with a curse upon ourselves, either implied or expressed, should it prove false." Clearly the affirmation, as fixed by the Toleration Act, is not an oath according to this definition. The ordinary form in an English Court of Justice is for the witness to be bidden to speak "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God." The words that formerly followed, "at his holy dome," are no longer spoken. The Testament is then kissed. This oath really means that if the witness does not speak truly, he renounces the help or mercy of God at the final Judgment.

It was unfortunate that so soon as Friends had obtained the relief from judicial oaths which they had been seeking through so much suffering, they became engaged in a denominational controversy extending over more than thirty years, as to whether a form of words was or was not an oath. It diverted attention from the broad issue raised by the first generation of Friends, and probably had its influence in deterring their successors from so pointedly maintaining the contention in favour of universal truth speaking, and the abolition of all oaths. By successive alterations of the law, it is now competent for any British subject, entertaining a conscientious objection to swearing, to make an affirmation instead. As a matter of practice, the number of persons who do so affirm is small—not so many in this country, I should suppose, as two centuries ago. Friends themselves seem to have lost a good deal of their interest in the subject. When Charles Bradlaugh was excluded from Parliament for not

taking the oath, and in consequence everybody was talking about swearing, an unrivalled opportunity presented itself to Friends to have made known their views, and to have appealed to the results of two centuries of experience, as evidencing the excellent effects of speaking the truth always whilst swearing never. The Yearly Meeting was asked to avail itself of the opportunity thus afforded, but the speaker's voice was as that of one crying in the wilderness. In the Yearly Meeting's *Proceedings* of 1889 there is a curious illustration of the liability of a religious body to look at legislature from a narrow denominational standpoint, instead of from that of a wider position. The Oaths Act of 1888 (51-52 Vict., ch. 46) was in reality a measure to have been gladly hailed by Friends, inasmuch as it established the principle that anyone who either has no religious belief, or deems oath-taking to be contrary to his religious belief,* should be entitled to affirm in all cases where an oath is required. The Meeting for Sufferings briefly remarked that this Act did not interfere with the privileges of Friends.†

The attitude occupied by the Society in respect to oaths is a strong one, but it has failed to secure any considerable recognition of the strength of its position. Two reasons are, I believe, chiefly responsible for this :—(1) The unlawfulness of swearing has been too exclusively insisted on, instead of the positive obligation to universal truth-speaking, which would carry with

* The first and second clauses of the Act of 1888 are as follows :—

"(1) Every person upon objecting to being sworn, and stating, as the ground of such objection, either that he has no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief, shall be permitted to make his solemn affirmation instead of taking an oath in all places and for all purposes where an oath is or shall be required by law, which affirmation shall be of the same force and effect as if he had taken the oath ; and if any person making such affirmation shall wilfully, falsely, and corruptly affirm any matter or thing which, if deposed on oath, would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, he shall be liable to prosecution, indictment, sentence, and punishment in all respects as if he had committed wilful and corrupt perjury.

"(2) Every such affirmation shall be as follows :—

"'I, A. B., do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' and then proceed with the words of the oath prescribed by the law, omitting any words of imprecation or calling to witness."

† *Extracts from the Minutes and Proceedings*, 1889, 86.

it the abolition of oaths, because they become unnecessary as well as unscriptural; (2) When Friends obtained their own exemption from the obligation to swear, they lost their interest in commending their practice to others. At the present time great ignorance on the subject prevails. Friends themselves are often not conversant with the state of the general law. Magistrates and their clerks are still more ignorant, and are annoyed at the delay of public business consequent upon the interruption of an affirmation in the proceedings of a Court of Justice. There is in reality no reason why an affirmation should occupy an appreciably longer time than an oath, but affirmations are so infrequent that the order of procedure is often unknown. The literature of Friends on this topic needs strengthening. It does not avail much to talk about "our ancient testimony against oaths." A testimony signifies a witnessing. The object of witnessing is to secure the acceptance of that to which witness is borne. If a person or a community accounts some truth to be precious, and recognises an obligation to bear witness thereto, the necessary measures for making that witnessing effective cannot be neglected with impunity.

The instances which have been given of the sufferings of Friends for refusing to take judicial oaths will illustrate their whole attitude towards the question of Religious Liberty. Liberty of conscience was pleaded for with great ability by Penn, Barclay, and other writers in the second half of the seventeenth century. But in the first instance the attitude taken up by the Friends was a very simple one. Spiritual nearness to God, and intercourse with Him, demanded for its continuance obedience to His will; keeping His commands was the primary condition of walking in the light; hence whenever human law seemed to conflict with the Divine requirements, the human law was disregarded. The position of Fox and his comrades was that of Peter and John before the Sanhedrin, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." The duty of unquestioning obedience to the Divine law, as superior to human law, was maintained with absolute conviction of its

sacred obligation, and the most intrepid willingness to accept whatever consequences such maintenance might involve. The world has not yet realised how much the religious freedom of the English speaking people is due to the stand made for liberty of conscience by the Friends, firstly against the Presbyterians in Great Britain and in New England, and afterwards against the Anglican Church after the Restoration—"those days," as Macaulay says, "never to be recalled without a blush, when the principles of liberty were the scoff of every grinning courtier, and the Anathema Maranatha of every fawning dean." When Charles II. came to the throne in 1660, "only the Independents," says Green, "and a few despised sects, such as the Quakers, upheld the right of every man to worship God according to the bidding of his own conscience." Thirty years later, with the almost unanimous assent of Parliament, religious toleration was granted to nearly all Protestant Nonconformists. What had brought about this great change in British public opinion, and that, too, just at the time when the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was extinguishing liberty of conscience in France? The plea for liberty of conscience was not urged for the first time in the reign of Charles II. This had been eloquently done by Sir Thomas More; but very little advance had been made in the acceptance of the principle, in the century and a quarter intervening between the publication of the *Utopia* and that of Milton's treatise on *Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion (1659). Oliver Cromwell was undoubtedly strongly adverse to religious persecution; and this was one reason why he was detested by the Presbyterian clergy, whose printed works remain to show how little they were in advance of Bonner or Laud in recognising the rights of conscience. They were earnest for the enforcement, by the civil power, of Presbyterian uniformity.* Hardly any of our front rank historians have done adequate justice to the Nonconformist stand for religious freedom in the

* In Gardiner's lectures on *Cromwell's Place in History*, there is a discriminating discussion of the attitude of Cromwell, Milton, and the

reign of Charles II. In that stand the Friends bore the brunt of the conflict. Burnet, an unsympathetic contemporary writer, says :—

"The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place and at the same hour as before. And when they were seized, none of them would get out of the way. They went altogether to prison ; they staid there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay their fines set on them, nor so much as the jail fees, calling these wages of unrighteousness. And as soon as they were let out, they went to their meeting-houses again ; and when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings in the streets, before the doors of those houses. They said they would not disown or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God ; but, in imitation of Daniel, they would do it the more publicly, because they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness ; but by it they carried their point : for the government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began to let them alone."

Professor Masson, the biographer of Milton, has brought out very strikingly the power of the Friends' passive resistance to persecution. I do not find that the passage is well known, and should like to quote it :—

"Most of the Presbyterian ministers and many of the Independent and Baptist preachers tried to avoid conflict with the law by arrangements for preaching among their adherents from house to house, with never more than four persons present in addition to the family ; but even these might blunder or be trepanned. Others broke bounds defiantly and took the consequences. Such offenders were numerous among the Baptists ; but no denomination so amazed and perplexed the authorities by their obstinacy as the Quakers. It was their boast that their worship, from its very nature, could not be stopped 'by men or devils.' From

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Independents towards religious liberty, followed by this allusion to the Society of Friends :—

"It is significant that the one important religious body which originated in the seventeenth century—that of the Society of Friends—owed its strength on the one hand to that extreme individualism which marks its doctrine as the quintessence of the higher Puritanism, but on the other hand to its unshrinking opposition to the Calvinistic discipline and the Calvinistic doctrine. No wonder Cromwell was drawn to its founder."

† *History of His Own Times*, p. 184.

a meeting of Roman Catholics, they said, you have but to take away the mass-book or the chalice, or the priest's garment, or even but to spill the water and blow out the candles, and the meeting is over. So, in a meeting of Lutherans or Episcopalians, or in a meeting of Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists, or Socinians, there is always some implement or set of implements upon which all depends, be it in the liturgy, the gown or surplice, the Bible, or the hour-glass; remove these and make noise enough and there can be no service. Not so with a Quaker meeting. There men and women worship with their hearts without implements, in silence as well as by speech. You may break in upon them, hoot at them, roar at them, drag them about; the meeting, if it is of any size, essentially still goes on till all the component individuals are murdered. Throw them out of the doors in twos and threes, and they but re-enter at the window and quietly resume their places. Pull their meeting-house down, and they re-assemble next day most punctually amid the broken walls and rafters. Shovel sand or earth down upon them, and there they still sit, a sight to see, musing immovably among the rubbish. This is no description from fancy; it was the actual practice of the Quakers all over the country. They held their meetings regularly, perseveringly, and without the least concealment, keeping the doors of their meeting-houses purposely open that all might enter, informers, constables, or soldiers, and do whatever they chose. In fact, the Quakers behaved magnificently. By their peculiar method of open violation of the law and passive resistance only they rendered a service to the common cause of all the Nonconformist sects which has never been sufficiently acknowledged. The authorities had begun to fear them as a kind of supernatural folk, and knew not what to do with them but cram them into gaols and let them lie there. Indeed the gaols in those days were less places of punishment for criminals than receptacles for a great proportion of what was bravest and most excellent in the manhood and womanhood of England."*

There can be no wonder that this meek endurance of cruel oppression for conscience sake wrought a great change in public sentiment, in the direction of toleration. Hallam attributes much to the influence of Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*. But why should that book have succeeded where *Utopia* had failed? The 12,316 Friends imprisoned in Charles II's. reign, including the 321 who died in prison, were an object lesson to the English people far more cogent than any book; and Jeremy Taylor's

* Masson's *Milton*, vi., 587-8.

views on behalf of religious liberty were very imperfect, as we have already seen.

Whilst the poets have associated peculiarities in speech with the Friends, statesmen have fastened upon the love of freedom as their prominent trait. On the death of William Edward Forster, Mr. Gladstone, then the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons, said :—

"Although Mr. Forster had ceased to be a member of the Society of Friends, he cherished throughout his life that hearty love of freedom which has always been a marked characteristic of that Society."

The late Professor Huxley wrote :—

"George Fox went through persecutions as serious as those which Paul enumerates : he was beaten, stoned, cast out for dead, imprisoned nine times, sometimes for long periods, in perils on land and perils at sea. A few years after Fox began to preach there were reckoned to be a thousand Friends in prison in the various gaols in England ; at his death, less than fifty years after the foundation of the sect, there were 70,000 of them in the United Kingdom. The cheerfulness with which these people—women as well as men—underwent martyrdom in this country and in the New England States is one of the most remarkable facts in the history of religion."*

If the retrospect of the attitude of Friends towards human speech is disappointing, that of their service on behalf of religious liberty is rich in its noble memories and its peaceful triumphs. The service they have accomplished in this field is of priceless value. It has, however, been marked by some of the same features observable in other departments of the Society's work. In the matter of oaths we have seen that after the Toleration Act had conferred upon Friends the privilege of affirming, they became less zealous in objecting to swearing because it was a harmful custom —not for Friends only—but for any one. Content with their own exemption, they almost ceased to press upon others the duty and advantage of the avoidance of oath-taking. Scientific observers speak of the law by which organisms exhibit a tendency to degenerate when, in the struggle for existence,

* *Nineteenth Century*, 1889, 451, 452.

they have secured a surrounding which releases them from the necessity of constant conflict. A similar law obviously obtains in the spiritual world. Trench expressed it in non-scientific terms when he wrote :—

> "For we must share, if we would keep,
> That good thing from above;
> Ceasing to give, we cease to have—
> Such is the law of Love."

The Society of Friends has happily never lost its interest in the cause of religious freedom. Within the lifetime of the present generation it has sent its ambassadors to plead for this liberty before kings and emperors. There was, however, a marked slackening of zeal after the passing of the Toleration Act ; more anxiety was displayed to preserve denominational privileges than to promote the larger acceptance of the principle of religious liberty on the national statute book. The past seventy years must always be memorable for the extension of religious liberty in this country. The removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the Marriage and Registration Act of 1836, the establishment of London University, the subsequent removal of tests at the older Universities, the admission of Friends to Parliament, and subsequently of Jews, the establishment of religious equality in Ireland, the abolition of compulsory church-rates, the Burials Act of 1880, and those successive alterations in the laws affecting oaths already referred to, cannot, however, be attributed in any special degree to the labours of Friends. Their passive enumeration of their sufferings, as they were collected and tabulated year by year, needed more active and aggressive action to make their testimony-bearing fruitful in definite result. For the reforms mentioned we have to thank Edward Miall and the Liberation Society.

Edmund Burke's great saying, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," should never be forgotten. If Friends are to be true to the great traditions they inherit in the matter of religious freedom, and to retain any right to leadership on its behalf in English society, they must be increasingly strenuous

in maintaining the doctrine of religious equality through evil as well as through good report. The struggle to prevent the public schools from falling under the domination of the priest should enlist their more active sympathies. Here in Yorkshire there are more than 500 parishes in which Nonconformist children are forced into the Church schools, and in which Nonconformists are excluded from the profession of teaching in the elementary schools, except at the sacrifice of their religious convictions.* In the nursing profession, too, great hindrances to advancement are put in the way of Protestant Nonconformists through the influence of the Established Church, even in institutions which have been largely supported by the contributions of Friends.

Met together at Scarborough, where so many good men have suffered through their loyalty to conscience, it cannot be inopportune to revive our recollections of what, under God, we owe to them, and to review the responsibilities, as well as the privileges, which constitute a part of our sacred heritage.

III.

The Present Position of Friends in English Society: their Attitude towards Philanthropy.

In contrasting the positions occupied by Friends at the end of the seventeenth and of the nineteenth centuries respectively, one is impressed with the magnitude of the change. At the earlier period the rapid growth of the Society, its missionary zeal at home and abroad, and its aggressive attitude towards existing ecclesiastical systems had excited wide-spread alarm. Charles Leslie's abusive book, *The Snake in the Grass*, reflects that alarm, and expresses the impatience with which the Toleration Act was regarded by the High Anglican party. At the present time ignorance and indifference respecting its faith and polity are the most notable features in the popular attitude towards the Society.

* It will be remembered that this was written in 1897.—[Editor.]

The alarm formerly felt has passed. A stranger asking his way to a Friends' meeting house may not improbably be told, even by a policeman, that he has never heard of such a place. The popular notion amongst those who do know something of the Friends is that they are a picturesque survival of an earlier period, serviceable in subscribing to benevolent objects, and not usually troublesome. They are regarded as desirable candidates at a municipal or parliamentary election. In localities where any considerable body of Friends reside, they are looked to by the public as leaders in philanthropic enterprises; a great deal of sentiment within the Society itself quietly asserts itself in the same direction. The Yearly Meeting will deal shyly with questions involving principles of ecclesiastical action, or even with proposed changes in its procedure that disturb existing arrangements, but it habitually recovers its spirits when directing a new subscription to alleviate human suffering caused by famine, persecution, or war. Dean Stanley thought the main object for the continued existence of Friends was to labour for the abolition of war. Canon Curteis says virtually the same thing—"They have all but put down slavery; they are on their way, I hope, to put down war."* This in itself is a large field of labour—of which more presently.

Respecting the philanthropic labours of Friends, Marsden, a Church of England clergyman, says:—

"Their zeal in works of practical benevolence knows no decay. In this their small community stands unrivalled, almost unapproached. If the opinions of their leaders should seem to disparage the sacred volume, their followers, with a happy inconsistency, are the zealous and unwearied advocates of its diffusion through the world. In them the Bible Society has always met with its most staunch supporters. Without their powerful assistance, Wilberforce would have declaimed in vain on the horrors of the middle passage, and Sir Fowell Buxton, himself of Quaker blood, on the abolition of slavery. Quakers are not a boastful people, or they might challenge contradiction to the fact that no considerable movement has taken place during the last half century, on behalf of the poor, the abject, or the guilty, which did not either originate with themselves,

* *Dissent*, 255.

or from them at least receive the impulse which gave it popularity, and crowned it with success. Mrs. Fry carried out that reformation of our prisons which Howard had begun. To Allen we are indebted for being amongst the first to arouse the country on the subject of national education. Reynolds, of Bristol, taught us the systematic visitation of the poor. In short, wherever a Quaker community exists, it is the centre of philanthropy and the example of the surrounding district."*

The philanthropic zeal here described dates from the latter part of the eighteenth century, and arose from two principal causes: (1) the growing disapproval of slavery under the teaching of Woolman and others; (2) the quickening of spiritual life consequent upon the evangelical revival both in the Established and the Nonconformist Churches. The same people who toiled for the emancipation of the slave supported Dr. Fothergill's educational work at Ackworth and William Tuke's amelioration of the lot of the insane at York. Philanthropy was in no wise foreign to the original ideas of the Friends, but it ran on different lines in the eighteenth century from what it had done in the seventeenth. In the earlier period there was great solicitude on behalf of the poor: it was wished that the wages of labourers should be fairly fixed, that the country's prisons might be made less dreadful places than they were, that criminals should be classified, that laws might be few and simple, that the services of lawyers might be dispensed with, as well as those of priests, that men might cease to fight, and to interfere with conscience in the things of God. The first hope of Fox appears to have been a reform of the whole Christian Church, which should secure these practical betterments in the lot of the common people, and when this proved impracticable, then the formation of a community which should express these principles in its corporate life.

Extremely interesting were the efforts made by the early Friends to help one another, as members of a great family. The ancient minutes of Monthly Meetings, besides the constant references to the care of the prisoners, record such items as the lending of money to poor persons beginning business, the purchase

* Marsden's *History of Christian Churches and Sects*, i., 455, 456.

of a cow for a widow woman, the caring for orphan children, the helping of families to emigrate. When the philanthropic zeal of the eighteenth century sprang up, it largely travelled into organisations outside the pale of the Society of Friends, in which its members united with persons of different persuasions, for the attainment of a desired end. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the British and Foreign School Society, temperance and total abstinence societies, the Peace Society, hospitals, dispensaries, at once occur as illustrations.

If we compare the lives of George Fox, Margaret Fell and William Penn with those of Joseph J. Gurney, Elizabeth Fry and William Allen, it will be seen that whilst their ideals had very much in common, there was a wide difference in their methods of working out those ideals. This does not necessarily reflect upon either group of workers. Both accomplished very beneficent work. The world has heartily recognised the philanthropy of Elizabeth Fry, and given her an honoured place amongst the saints of British Christianity. The Society of Friends, as a community, has largely profited by the evangelical glow introduced into its ministry and teaching in connection with the philanthropic labours of its members. The First-day School movement was closely associated, both in its origin and its progress, with the same influences which had called forth so much self-sacrificing labour on behalf of the slave, the criminal, and the ignorant. The Friends of eighty years ago provided a large number of labourers, especially of women, in these fields of altruistic service, possessing aptitude for associated work with persons of other denominations, and not exciting any apprehensions of proselytism. These labours enlarged the outlook of the Society, which had become greatly contracted, and expanded the sympathies of its members.

There is, however, another side to the picture. It is in connection with their philanthropy that Friends have won much public approbation. Christ said, " Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you ! for in the same manner did their fathers to the false prophets." The Society has not by any means entirely

escaped this woe. Why is human praise dangerous to individuals or to a community? Because praise is pleasant, has a tendency to exalt self, to lead into paths which may bring more praise, and to relax the texture of moral and religious character. A special danger in the case before us has been this, that philanthropic work as commonly carried on requires much money. It often seems as if God's work was hindered for want of silver and gold. "Why not then acquire more," reasons the philanthropist, "so as to be able to give more largely?" Hence, in some cases at least, has come the self-justification for going on acquiring, hoarding earthly treasure whilst zeal was slackening, and character decaying. The late Frederick D. Maurice made it a charge against Friends that they have continued testifying about things which may have required such testimony two centuries ago, but which are now largely matters of tradition, whilst they have been almost silent on those which most need testifying against in the nineteenth century—the excessive love and worship of wealth, and the devotion to its acquisition. There is some force in this charge; whilst it is no less true that Friends are amongst the few people periodically exhorted to "take heed to the limitations of the Spirit of Truth in the pursuit of the things of this life," and to "Guard against the spirit of speculation, and the snare of accumulating wealth."*

Whilst both within and without the Society a sentiment has prevailed that its proper and most successful work has been philanthropy, it has not been so commonly perceived that this philanthropy is not a sentimental outcome of human kindliness, but is intimately connected with a perception of the spiritual and all embracing character of the kingdom of Christ—a kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy. The basis of a world-wide philanthropy is removed if it be not true that Christ "tasted death for every man," and that He "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." One of the foremost lessons taught by the history of Friends is the close connection between everything which has been distinctive in their conduct and the recognition

* *Christian Discipline*, ii., 38.

of God's nearness to every human spirit which will receive and obey Him. In the light of this principle, let us revert to that which so many persons think the chief work of Friends at the present time—labour for international peace and the abolition of war. When Fox was asked at Derby to take the command of a troop of soldiers, he replied, that he "lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars."* Tennyson inquired :—

> "Ah! when shall all men's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
> Thro' all the circle of the golden year?"

The answer is clear—just so soon as men shall come practically under the government of Christ by His Spirit, so removing the occasions of war, and manifesting the contrariety between the spirit of strife and that of love. To make this perception vivid, the human conscience requires educating and instructing. Hence the wide sphere for the labours of individuals and of associations, definitely working for the advancement of international peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the sons of God." We believe, however, that it is not practicable efficiently to advance this great reform if it be regarded as an isolated piece of social amelioration, which can be detached from the whole body of Christian faith and practice.

This is true as respects other departments of conduct. Bishop Westcott so well expressed the thought I wish to enforce, that I should like to quote words of his which succeed a decided condemnation of some parts of George Fox's teaching—"None the less, he [Fox] established one fundamental fact, which is of momentous importance for us in our present endeavours to bring before the world the majesty of the kingdom of God. He made clear beyond question the power of the simplest spiritual appeal to the conscience of men. He made clear beyond question the efficacy of a childlike trust in the reality of a divine fellowship

* *Journal*, i., 68.

to cleanse the rudest and coarsest life. For he did not labour towards the accomplishment of any special work of mercy or justice. He strove simply for the recognition of a living Christ within every soul. He wrought for God in the conviction that the new life is the consequence and not the condition of the quickened Faith ; that righteousness, peace, joy, are the notes of the believer, but not the pre-requisites for believing. We are busied, engrossed, absorbed, in dealing with partial evils—with intemperance, with uncleanness, with dishonesty. We think that we can build up the kingdom of God in fragments ; that some breath from heaven will at last animate the frame which we have painfully fashioned bit by bit. But there is, as far as I can see, little encouragement for such a reversal of the processes of nature, for such a denial of the teaching of history. *The principle of life fashions the organism and sustains it.* No organism, however delicately constructed, can summon to itself the principle of life ; no scheme of social regeneration has ever shewn a power of continuance which has not been based upon religious faith. No scheme which has retained its first faith has ever wholly failed."*

I cannot then concur in the opinion that the main place for Friends in English Society is now to furnish a body of benevolently disposed persons, concerned in the philanthropic work of the nation, whilst declining more strenuous issues. Rather I should say that their great contribution to the national life consists in keeping before it a presentation of Christianity—at once spiritual, ethical, and practical in influencing conduct. Through seven generations the Society has been successful in rearing men and women different—not necessarily better—but different in some respects from those of any other denomination. This difference, as we have seen, was recognised by the Protector, when his Court was thronged by Friends asking permission to go to prison in place of the sufferers immured there. From that time to the present a signal success has been attained by the Society in moulding individual characters, powerful for dealing with the ordinary affairs of life in a Christian spirit. Seventy years ago

* *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 132, 133.

Sydney Smith, the brilliant *Edinburgh Review* writer, came into my father's office and asked him to provide a Quaker nursemaid for the rectory at Foston : her faith should in no way be interfered with while resident in a clergyman's family. I believe the want could not be supplied ; but it gave rise to a conversation in which the witty essayist said, " You obtain something which we do not " —as the reason for his singular request. The incident is significant in its recognition of the dependability of character that has often grown up under a training associated with the doctrine of the Divine indwelling. It is this sense of personal responsibility which has given to the Friends their great influence.

Whilst, however, they have been so successful in fashioning individual characters, able to take their part worthily in many of the walks of life, the Society's failure in sustaining congregational life on a large scale has been no less conspicuous. For a hundred and eighty years after the colonisation of Pennsylvania the diminution in numerical strength in Great Britain cannot have averaged less than 200 persons per annum, whilst in the same period the population increased five-fold. It is this failure which makes one hesitate to offer an opinion whether the Society can still contribute to our national life an element, the past value of which is widely recognised—and the need for which still continues. May I give a single illustration of this need ? I hope the majority of Friends here, if not all, agree with me in condemning the recent conduct of Great Britain towards the natives of South Africa as deplorably heathenish. To steal their country, debauch them with vile spirits, when they resist to call them rebels, to mow down " the niggers " with Maxim guns, and finally give sites of stolen land for mission stations—was a policy as despicable as it was wicked. What was at the root of this policy ? It was the love of money over-riding considerations of justice and of humanity and of honesty. And what is the remedy for such a policy ? To find a power which will be stronger than the love of money, one which will strengthen the sense of justice and quicken personal responsibility. Where can this power be found, but in the sense of the nearness of God to the

human spirit—and in its submission to the government of Christ ?

> " So near is grandeur to our dust,
> So nigh to God is man,
> When duty whispers low, ' Thou must '—
> The soul replies, ' I can.' "

If this sense could be brought home to men on a sufficiently large scale, there would be far less worship of mammon, a greater love of simplicity in life, a finer sense of justice, a recognition of the dignity of men everywhere, whatever the colour of their skins and however degraded, since they are yet the objects with ourselves of a common redemption through Christ, and of a universal illumination by His Spirit. This presentation of Christianity needs enforcing on our legislators, and not less so upon those who emigrate from Great Britain to people new countries.

Within the lifetime of the present generation, two men have been eminently successful in obtaining the ear of the English-speaking peoples for a practical and ethical view of Christianity, substantially the same as that presented two centuries and a half ago by Fox, Barclay and Penn. The responses evoked by the speeches of Bright and the poetry of Whittier indicate that the truths they enunciated, even when unpopular at the time, reached the Divine witness in the hearts of thousands. Along with marked differences, there are points of notable similarity between the religious atmosphere of the present day and that of the Commonwealth times. There was a widely spread interest in religion ; so there is now. There was then a great exhibition of religiousness ; and so there is now. Then it took the form of Sabbath observance, and all that externalism of dress, speech and conduct which characterised the later Puritanism. Now religiousness takes the form of æsthetic and sacerdotal ritual. In the seventeenth century many souls remained unsatisfied. There are indications that a similar sense of unsatisfiedness exists now. Alongside the ritualistic wave flows the current of agnosticism. " There be many who say, ' who will show us any

good?'" Is any certain knowledge to be had of the existence of a spiritual world and, if existing, of its laws? Many members of the Scarborough Summer School must often have longed that it were in their power to give a satisfying answer to souls hungering for something deeper than ritual, and more restful than incertitude. I can offer no opinion whether the Friends will have the spiritual strength to supply this void in the religious life of our times. "This sort goeth not forth but by prayer and fasting." "Jesus saith, 'Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.'"* Were we able to set forth the claims of the spiritual kingdom of Christ, by example as well as by speech, plainly, persuasively, and yet in the power of truth, commending the message to every man's conscience in the sight of God, it would carry with it the savour of its own authority; and our own people, and the world, and the Church would all feel that the message was not the dying echo of seventeenth century voices, but a veritable Gospel, living, dynamic, catholic—impartially addressing itself to all sorts and conditions of men, whether young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, agnostic or ritualist.

* *Logion* ii.

PART II.

PROBLEMS OF CHURCH LIFE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELATIONS OF DENOMINATIONAL TO NATIONAL LIFE:

With Especial Reference to their Influence on the Polity of the Society of Friends.*

According to Whittier, we who are Friends,

". . . of all others, have reason to pay
The tribute of thanks, and rejoice on our way,

. . . for the faith which embraces the whole,
Of the creeds of the ages the life and the soul,
Wherein letter and spirit the same channel run,
And man has not severed what God has made one!

For a sense of the Goodness revealed everywhere,
As sunshine impartial, and free as the air;
For a trust in humanity, Heathen or Jew,
And a hope for all darkness the Light shineth through." †

IT is remarkable that a Society holding a faith so catholic, possessing points of contact with so many systems of philosophy and religion, should in the course of a century and a half have become one of the most elaborately organised and self-contained amongst the tribes of the Christian commonwealth. To trace the causes and growth of this development would furnish material for an excellent essay in ecclesiastical history. It was an outcome little anticipated by the first generation who bore the name of Friends, or by their contem-

* A paper read at a Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting Conference, York, 1892.

† *The Quaker Alumni.*

poraries of other persuasions. Yet even before the death of George Fox close observers might have discerned a slackening in the vigour of that assault on existing religious institutions and creeds which had distinguished the Friends of the Commonwealth and of the early years of Charles II.; and as time passed the disposition became increasingly apparent for the Society to turn its energies in the direction of internal organisation, rather than towards external aggression.

By the silent growth of usage, as well as by denominational legislation, a system of institutions and customs was evolved which permitted the Friends to live conformably with the requirements of their religious convictions, whilst avoiding unnecessary conflict with the laws and usages of others. The first Friends, "nobles by the right of an earlier creation, priests by the imposition of a mightier hand,"* could not tolerate clerical intervention in their domestic affairs. Dispensing with sacerdotal assistance at birth, marriage, and death, they erected their own system of registration, their own marriage ceremonial, and provided their own cemeteries. The earlier years of the eighteenth century witnessed the building of numerous meeting houses. It was a time of waning spiritual fervour, but the system of Church government established by George Fox was elaborated, and ecclesiastical regulations multiplied. The latter years of the century saw the establishment of the Women's Yearly Meeting, the growth of the system of recording Ministers, and, what was more important, the foundation of Ackworth School. The last event was followed at no long interval by the establishment of a group of other schools, so that by the time of Queen Victoria's accession, a denominational education was provided for all the children of Friends, who would accept it, and also for those connected with the Society but not in membership. The Society had, in fact, followed the law so observable in the animal world, by which the living organism seeks a congenial environment, and is in its turn influenced by the peculiarities of that environment.

* Macaulay's description of the Puritan.—[EDITOR.]

Time only permits me thus to glance in the hastiest manner at a process which was progressive through five or six generations, because—my object in this paper being practical and not academic—I want to hasten on, and to point out the great change which the last sixty years have brought about in this denominational environment. Yet the significance of the change can hardly be understood without noticing the causes which had led up to that phase of denominational life which existed in the Society of Friends when the nineteenth century opened, and for many years afterwards. These causes embraced within their range the influence of active persecution and of religious disabilities from without, as well as phases of religious thought and feeling within the body, which may have affinities with spiritual sloth, as well as with mental introversion, bracing self-examination, strenuous spiritual exercise, and loving loyalty to Christ.*

Two books have been published within the last few years, which set before the present generation both the lights and shadows of that environment, which was the out-growth of a hundred and fifty years of denominational life. The *Records of a Quaker Family, the Richardsons of Cleveland* portray these with a loving but not indiscriminating appreciation: the *Autobiography of Mary Howitt*, censoriously and unsympathetically.

Personally, we see much to admire in that religious and social atmosphere which had been created by the lives and labours of five generations of Friends. In many respects it was nobler, purer, more humane, in a word more Christian, than that which encircled the average Englishman. It had its harsh side, especially in relation to marriage. It had its narrowness, under which many spirits chafed, but even this promoted the formation of earnest and deep character. Where this depth and earnestness were allied with natural graces and spiritual gifts, characters of great beauty were the result, especially amongst women. Nor need it be con-

* For reasons of space, a sketch of the "career of an individual born in the Society of Friends at the beginning of the nineteenth century," is omitted. His career, from the cradle to the grave, "ran alongside, but yet most definitely outside the stream of the national life."—[EDITOR.]

cealed that this environment had its funny side. It requires some self-denial, in the interests of brevity, to refrain from illustration which might have lighted up the tedium of this discussion.

The fabric of institutions and usages of which we have spoken had attained its fairest development when its continuance began to be menaced by the operation of causes which had been set in motion by the very men who had laid its foundations. They had really done a far greater work than found a small denomination.

Mr. Gladstone once spoke of " the great social forces, which move on in their might and majesty, undisturbed by the din " of men's debate. The words recall that slow, but really majestic march of religious forces, which may be moving almost unobserved through the lifetime of generations, nearly to the hour of their final triumph. The Kingdom of Heaven cometh not with observation. So it was with respect to those principles of religious freedom and the rights of conscience, to which the early Friends were the most stedfast adherents, and for which they became the most patient sufferers. The disputed succession of the Hanoverian kings, and the spiritual lethargy of the first half of the eighteenth century, overshadowed and in degree buried these principles. An historian like Bancroft sees however that the independence of the United States was the natural outcome of the foundation of New England and Pennsylvania. The excesses of the French Revolution turned back the progress of civil and religious liberty in this country for nearly half a century, but at last, after ten years of peace, it became apparent that under these hindering influences the principles of religious liberty had really been germinant, and were about to yield a beneficent harvest which has not even yet been fully ripened and garnered.

It would be a mistake to claim for the Society of Friends an exclusive possession of these principles. The other Nonconformist bodies were also their custodians, and sometimes their more strenuous advocates. But it may be maintained without fear of contradiction, that the greater part of the beneficent legislation of the last seventy years has been in harmony with those Friendly

teachings which in the seventeenth century often sounded as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

For one hundred and thirty-nine years after the passing of the Toleration Act, in 1689, no great measure in the interests of religious freedom was carried through the British legislature. The causes of this striking fact deserve careful thought, but they cannot be discussed here. The fact itself becomes the more notable in contrast with the long series of measures of which the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 was the harbinger.

The removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities followed in 1829. In 1832 the great Reform Bill was passed. The following year Joseph Pease took his seat in Parliament, the first Friend member. In the same year, the affirmation of Friends, Moravians, and Separatists was made equivalent to an oath, as respects the serving on juries, the qualification for office, and all other purposes whatsoever. The reform in the Poor Law, a most important measure, not entirely unconnected with the subject before us, was carried in 1834. The year 1836 is especially notable as witnessing the foundation of London University, and also the passage of the Dissenters' Marriage and General Registration Acts. The agitation for the repeal of the corn laws occupied the public mind for some succeeding years. Three men were said to form the A. B. and C. of the Anti-Corn Law League. A. and B. were Friends. The Liberation Society was founded in 1844. In 1853 religious tests were abolished in the Scotch Universities. They were partially removed at Oxford in 1854, and at Cambridge in 1856, and more decisively so in 1870. In 1866 the Qualification for Office Act passed. In 1868 compulsory church-rates were abolished. The next year religious equality was established in Ireland. In 1880 the Burials Acts Amendment Bill became law. I intended to have named in its chronological order the Elementary Education Act of 1870; and the Local Government Act of 1889 may also be mentioned.

Let us look at the influence of these measures on the environment of a Friend. His birth, his marriage, and his death are now recorded on the national registers, in the same way as those of

the millions of his fellow-citizens. Since the midsummer of 1837 it has not been possible for a Friend to be born, to be married, or to die, without the State making a note of the event. Since 1880 it has been possible for a Friend to be buried in the national church-yards.* As the State has not ignored him during life, it does not deny him sepulture in death. And indeed why should it? for in all probability he will have served his country in various official capacities. Many have devoted much time to the duties of Poor Law Guardians. Others have served in the ever expanding work of Municipal Corporations. Laborious and invaluable work has been done on several School Boards by Friends. Many have become Magistrates; and in proportion to the size of the body, quite a large number have been members of Parliament.† In that secluded environment of which we have spoken, a type of character had been fashioned, excellently fitted for the service of a free self-governing democracy. Nor has the democracy been slow to recognise this fitness, as may be illustrated by reference to the experience of two or three localities. For many years Birmingham was represented by a Friend in Parliament. Seven members of the local congregation have filled the office of Mayor. Ten are, or have been members of its Corporation, eight Magistrates, nine Poor Law Guardians, two members of the School Board, one a County Councillor. Nineteen persons in all have filled these offices.

* Strictly speaking, every person in the parish in which he dies has always had a right of sepulture in the parish churchyard, as well as in that of which he is a parishioner by residence. What the Act of 1880 did was to give Friends and other Nonconformists the right to hold their own service at the grave, if they so desired.—[EDITOR.]

† The extent to which Friends' convictions had changed may be illustrated by an extract from the Yearly Meeting's Epistle of 1775, respecting the War of American Independence. "We are informed that the body of Friends in America, as well as here, are generally preserved from concerning themselves as parties in the present heats and commotions, and we intreat all in membership with us to enter as little into conversation respecting them as possible, and daily to seek for and abide under the influence of that heavenly principle which leads to 'follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.'"—See also p. 403.—[EDITOR.]

Turning to smaller places, we find that York is represented by a Friend in Parliament. Seven of the present members of the Meeting are or have been in the Corporation, two are Magistrates, two have been Sheriffs. Scarborough is represented by a Friend in Parliament, four have served in the Corporation, three on the School Board, two are Poor Law Guardians, and two Magistrates. Since the incorporation of Darlington, ten Friends have served the town as Mayors, five others have been members of the Corporation, and seven are Magistrates.*

It has been pointed out how fifty years ago, the life of a Friend's child was untouched by the action of the nation: nothing happened to remind the child that the nation had an interest in him. This is no longer the case. Before he is conscious, the infant born in a Friend's family has been registered by the State, and vaccinated under its direction. In this much-examined age it is almost melancholy to note how early little boys and girls at the elementary schools begin to understand the visits of the H. M. inspectors, and their own passage from one standard to another, as amongst the chief events of their young lives. If the child is at Ackworth or York School, he learns with early interest that, through the South Kensington Department, the nation will assign him a position in art or mathematics, and ultimately furnish him, if successful, with a certificate having its distinct commercial value in the equipment of life. To how many —both boys and girls—are the matriculation examinations of London University events of no little importance. A smaller number take the higher examinations; and the possession of a degree is fast becoming an essential for holding a good position as a teacher in a Friends' school. The attitude of Friends towards the Universities has undergone a complete revolution in my lifetime. Formerly, as far as my memory goes, Friends knew hardly anything of what was going on at Oxford or Cambridge; now there are always some of their young people living there, and University news is a common matter of conversation.

* The reader will remember that this and the foregoing paragraph were written in 1892.—[EDITOR.]

The facts of which I have been speaking are so patent that I think there will be no difference of opinion as to their importance. But the changes have come gradually, they have been progressive through sixty years, so that each step in the change has not been noted at the time, and probably few have realised their real magnitude.

And now, in apostolic phraseology, What shall we say to these things? In the first place, surely, that we ought to be thankful for this great extension of religious liberty, every day of our lives. "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which [we] see and have not seen them." "Other men laboured and [we] have entered into their labours." Secondly, we should remember that the temple of religious freedom is still unfinished, and should seek to speed the progress of the nations in the direction of Cavour's policy of "free Churches in free States." Absolute religious equality, in the eye of the State, for every religious denomination, is the goal at which England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland should ultimately arrive.

But now as to the effect of the change on the Society of Friends. Edmund Burke said "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." One application of these pregnant words may be to suggest a closer scrutiny of the influence exerted on the denominational life of Friends by the larger religious liberty now enjoyed. It can be no matter of surprise that the maintenance of its Church meetings—those which carry on its government—has become more difficult. In some places their attendance has diminished. Their relative importance to other public engagements has practically been lessened, in the general estimation of the Society. These meetings were to our grandfathers the chief gatherings they attended. Now they form but one section of a procession of meetings, which annually begins on New Year's Day, and ends only with the last day of December. It is physically impossible for a man to attend all the meetings that come in his way. He must make a selection. And when that selection has been made, it may frequently seem as though the denominational gathering were less important than its competitor. The administration of

a small body deals with things on a smaller scale than in the larger circles of the world's greater affairs. Few Monthly Meetings amongst Friends deal directly with more than two or three hundred people. The business of a comparatively small Corporation like that of York deals with the concerns of a population three or four times as numerous as all the Friends in Britain. The larger administration is more interesting on its human side. A person may become interested in the finances of a Quarterly or Monthly Meeting, but such seem very small when compared with those of the city of York, which in turn are insignificant compared with those of Leeds, Birmingham or London. Again, if we take an illustration of a moral kind, the Watch Committee of a Corporation has a quite remarkable influence on the moral life of a community. Can it be wondered at that Christian men will sometimes deliberately prefer to serve the Master on a Watch Committee, rather than in a Friends' Monthly Meeting, because they think they can there render better service ? Again, one part of the duty of meetings for discipline is the care of the poor. In this direction the service of many Friends is truly useful, but can it be any matter of surprise that the duty of a Poor Law Guardian dealing with thousands of indigent, rather than with tens, should seem, nay should really be more important than that of the Friend Overseer in his small administration ? Take again the matter of education. Within the last twenty years, the committees of Ackworth and York Schools have lost some of their best men, who have become members and perhaps chairmen of School Boards. It is said, with great force, that the care of the three hundred children at Ackworth, and the hundred and forty at York, is numerically an insignificant matter compared with that of the tens of thousands in the Board Schools of Sheffield or Huddersfield.

Again, apart from the influence of legislation, with which up to this point we have chiefly dealt, there are other changes in the conditions of life in Great Britain, which are, I believe, setting against the maintenance of denominational life. One is the great expansion of the population and the enlargement of towns, so re-

moving the homes of Friends further from one another, and increasing the physical difficulties of attending meetings.

The establishment of cheap newspapers, and of the railway and telegraph systems, have done for the nation that which a great quickening of nervous energy does for an individual. The whole nation is drawn closer together. If a prince is ill, the whole nation watches at his bedside. When an election happens at Cork, or Leeds, or in Devonshire, the whole nation receives the intelligence of the result within a few minutes of the announcement. Indirectly all these influences tell in the direction of making men feel their interest in the national, rather than in the denominational life. The tendency to absorption in the great current of the national life grows stronger, and predisposes to forgetfulness of the tiny stream of the denominational life. May it not be said that our grandfathers were firstly Friends, then Englishmen; of our fathers that they were Englishmen and Friends; and of the present generation—speaking broadly—that they are firstly Englishmen and then Friends? If this view be correct, I must stop to point out how the result vindicates the policy of the Liberal statesmen to whom we are indebted for the series of measures which have removed theological tests and religious disabilities. It has been the contention of these statesmen that the State suffered by being deprived of the services of any part of the population through religious disabilities. Manifestly the removal of disabilities from Roman Catholics, Jews and Protestant Nonconformists has brought to the service of the State a great amount of talent and ability of which otherwise it would have been deprived, and has helped to weld into one great homogeneous population a people who before were divided by sectional interests and denominational disabilities. When fresh thoughts and feelings are stirring in a community, they will frequently find expression in new words. The popularity of the modern word *solidarity* is probably a token of the drift of thought in the direction I have been indicating.

And this brings me to what I fear will seem a weak point to many readers. I find it difficult to set forth any policy, adequate to the

emergency, for the adoption of the Society in view of those altered conditions of the national life which have been described. It may fairly be said, "You have shown how strong are the influences inimical to the maintenance of the denominational life of Friends: are you prepared in view of these influences to assent to the decay and extinction of their denominational life?" The reply to this question will turn very much on the estimation in which we hold the typical Friend character.* On this point a mass of evidence, which cannot be brought forward here, goes to show that this character still holds a unique position in English society, a position of no little moment to the highest interests of the people, and to the progress of the Christian faith. I must briefly take it for granted that most who read and hear this paper will not be disposed to assent to the absorption of the Friends' denominational life in the national as a thing which has had its day and done its work. On the contrary, it would seem as though the responsibility of larger claims and widened duties demands in some respects even a closer union with the channels through which spiritual strength largely flows. Men need to be spiritually equipped for the most secular services. And when the stream of human life and effort widens out, is there not more need than ever that the channels of communication with its Source be kept free, deep and unclogged? To fulfil the outward duties of life nobly, there must be a vigorous, continually renewed and quickened inward or religious life—a vigorous Church life in the most spiritual sense of the word. "For every advance in religious life," said Mazzini, "we can point to a corresponding social advance in the history of humanity." So that not selfishly, but for the sake of worthily discharging their service to humanity, may Christian people desire, pray, and labour for

* "We think it is a plain matter of history, that a character for inflexibility of purpose, sometimes called obstinacy, for an independency of action, often termed singularity, for a strict construction of the laws of truth and justice, which all men liked when it operated in their own favour, and sometimes honoured when it was even against them, and, lastly, a character of kindly sympathy with man under all circumstances of his condition, have by a sort of common consent been awarded to this people."—Samuel Tuke's *Five Papers*, 26.

the continual growth and prosperity of the Church to which they belong.

If the Friend character is to be preserved, the influences which have moulded it must, in their essentials, be preserved. To destroy the influences and expect the character to remain is as unreasonable as to look for the verdure of an English lawn under the rainless sky of Egypt. The meetings for discipline have been influential factors in the formation of character. We may assume that self-government is an indispensable requirement of a community like the Society of Friends. If so, it follows, as a consequence, that this government must be carried on by the body of the members, and that if they will not take their share in it, decrepitude must follow. It would seem, then, as if the continuance of the Society was almost bound up with the maintenance of its Church meetings. I recognise the great force of the influences which tell against their maintenance, but the true inference from this appears to be that these difficulties should be faced, and if possible surmounted, not succumbed to. The difficulties of keeping up these meetings in the seventeenth century were tremendous, in the face of the awful persecution of that time, but as that was not permitted to destroy the system, so perhaps the difficulties of the present day may be surmounted. It is one thing, and often a good thing, to recognise difficulties, another to give in to them. If individuals and a community are agreed in their estimation of some institution as valuable, it helps to give to that institution a right position in relation to other institutions. He who thinks a Monthly Meeting a matter of importance, as being part of a valuable system, will carefully consider, when two appointments clash, which is the one he should attend. I have spoken of the considerations which might weigh very strongly with a man who serves on a Corporation Watch Committee ; but there are others which may very fairly come into the whole consideration. He may remember that the Committee is large, and the absence of one not necessarily so much felt as in the smaller meeting of Friends. And again all have need to remember the excellent "gallery text"—"mind your calling, brethren." A teacher, including in

that term others than professional teachers, but not excluding these, may remember that in a Church meeting he may have opportunities of influencing people who may make better members of a Corporation committee than he himself can be. One cannot doubt that John Bright was as truly called to be a legislator, as Paul to be an Apostle to the Gentiles. Joseph John Gurney has left an account of his questioning whether he should not have offered himself as a candidate for the representation of Norwich. We may be glad he did not do so. It is almost certain he would have been far less useful in Parliament than as a Minister amongst Friends, and a Christian philanthropist. May we not go further and say that it is rarely a desirable thing for a Christian Minister to enter Parliament? For the vast majority of men the duties of either vocation are greater than they have strength and grace for, without attempting to combine the two. To some men Christ's words carry a deep significance—"Let the dead bury their own dead; but go thou and publish abroad the kingdom of God."

On the other hand, there may be a temptation not less real nor less mischievous in just the opposite direction. Monasticism—with its hideous corruptions—was but the extreme form of the spirit which seeks to escape from evil by shunning contact with earthly business. At the present time it seems probable that some of the Friends in the United States might render a great service to their country by taking a more active part in its legislature. The modern examples in this country of the tabooing of civil engagements by religious professors, who say their politics are in Heaven, have not been encouraging in their results. It is a policy which promotes a sickly kind of pietism—not a robust and practical life of duty, fruitful in good to man and bringing glory to God. Were Friends now to turn their backs on the openings for public work afforded by the constitution of this country and by the willingness of their fellow citizens to elect them, and to throw all their strength into their denominational concerns, the result would, we have little doubt, illustrate the Lord's saying, "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." We believe the largest amount of spiritual vitality is not now found amongst

those congregations of Friends which have the smallest number of members holding civil appointments.

But the question remains, what is to be done to maintain the power and influence of the Society's Church meetings? Must we not rely largely on the maintenance of a healthy public opinion respecting them? At the present time is not the swing of the pendulum going too far in the direction of seeking good ends through the interposition of law? And do we not need to be recalled to an appreciation of the slow growth of character, which the meetings for discipline may do so much to promote?

It is encouraging to notice that sometimes, by a little change of arrangement, the interest in Church meetings has been greatly increased. We might refer to the winter Quarterly Meeting conferences at York; and to Monthly Meetings, changed from a morning to afternoon or evening, with a greatly increased attendance in consequence.* Strong as are the influences making it difficult to keep up Church meetings, are they insuperable? May not much be done by holding them at times and under conditions suitable to the requirements of their members; and lastly by encouraging all to attend to those pointings of the Divine finger, which would direct one into one line of service, and another into a different line—"every man according to his several ability?"

Leaving now the subject of Church meetings, let us consider the effect of the changes we have described upon the educational policy of Friends. It has been pointed out that half a century ago the Society had made a provision for the boarding-school education of all classes of its members. The closing of Grove House School was a token that the wealthiest families in the denomination had become less solicitous to have their children educated in a Friendly atmosphere. The recent establishment of Leighton Park School shows this feeling not to be universal. Time alone will prove whether members of Parliament, and those

* Later developments, in the way of provincial Yearly Meetings, and week-end Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, are in direct line with this argument.—[EDITOR.]

who count their income by thousands, will prefer an education for their sons amongst denominational surroundings, or with the larger prestige of a career at Eton, Harrow, Rugby, or Marlborough.

When we come to examine the influence on the middle-class schools of a quickened national, and a relaxed denominational life, it is found to show itself chiefly in necessitating various modifications of arrangement. The great body of Friends being middle-class people, there is a larger constituency from which to recruit the schools, and some difficulties felt by the affluent and the wage-earners press less closely here. In former days the calendar of a Friends' school was dependent upon the times of denominational gatherings; now it is found that these have to give way to dates fixed by examining bodies like the University of London. As a matter of sentiment, I have regretfully observed the substitution for vacation-times dependent on Quarterly Meetings beginning on the "4th day preceding the last 5th day in 4th and 7th months," of dates determined by the festivals of Easter or Whitsuntide. But the change is inevitable. I apprehend there will be little or no demur to the position that the right policy for the middle-class schools of the Society is to persevere in that they have already adopted, which, whilst striving to maintain their distinctive excellencies, uses with discrimination the opportunities afforded by the educational provision of the nation for testing the quality of the literary instruction given.

I have referred to the excellent Friends' girls' schools in a former part of this paper. It is a cause of great congratulation that the better and more intelligent education of girls has been so largely promoted in our time, by the establishment of admirable High Schools, by the bestowing of degrees by London University, and by the foundation of colleges for women at Oxford and Cambridge. The influence of these changes is telling on the denominational machinery for the teaching of girls. One way in which it shows itself is the lessened demand for Friend governesses in private families. Probably in one way or other the demand for women teachers amongst Friends is as great as ever, but I think

the public demand is now for a good teacher first, and for a good Friend as the second qualification.

The provision for the education of the children of artisans has exercised the thoughts of many in recent years. Here again several of the difficulties of the present-day problem are the outcome of changes to be greatly thankful for.

Few things in the England of 1892 would more delight the men who founded the British and Foreign School Society, men like Joseph Lancaster, William Allen, and Robert Forster, than the work of the London School Board. But the excellence of the national elementary education has introduced a new set of conditions, so far as the children of Friends are concerned, in relation to the schools of the Society. The mere imparting of knowledge in the Board Schools is in many cases as good as or better than in the Friends' boarding-schools, whilst the contrast in expense is very marked, and this has recently been accentuated by the action of the Government in the direction of free education. The wage-earner sees that in the public elementary schools his children obtain admirable teaching at a minimum of cost to himself. He naturally hesitates to pay a much larger sum, and, in addition, to accept the benevolence of his wealthier co-religionists, in order to send his children away from home to a boarding-school. In view of the facts of the position, the diminution of applications for admission at some of the Friends' schools can excite no surprise.

I am wishful in this paper to avoid raising side issues, liable to divert attention from the leading positions I am endeavouring to lay down. I therefore do not stop to discuss the merits of the proposal, now before the Society, that it should make a great effort to offer a boarding-school education to all the children of its members; perhaps to go further and include all children where one parent is a member. The initial considerations would seem to be: (1) is this really the best course for the children? and (2) should the offer be made, how far will it be accepted? The present expense would not be more than Friends could compass. We shall not be far wrong in assuming that to make such an offer to all the children named, we must be prepared to supplement

the payments of the parents by a capitation grant of about £20. A hundred children then will require £2,000 per annum; 200 children £4,000 per annum; 300 children £6,000. It would not seem likely that at present this number would be reached. Looking at the great sums raised for Foreign Mission purposes, we may assume that Friends can raise the largest sum I have indicated if they choose to do so. They will require, however, to be satisfied that the object is adequate to the effort, and that the offered gift will be accepted.*

But however this part of the educational problem of the day may be solved, it seems to be beyond doubt that the educational provision of the Society will, in the future, as respects all its children, be less self-contained and separate from the national educational provision than was the case in the middle of the present century. If we assume that the promoters of Leighton Park School succeed in gathering there as large a proportion of the wealthier boys as went formerly to Grove House, their career will certainly in many cases be supplemented by some years at the Universities, where the denominational influence, so far as Friends are concerned, will be very slight. To a considerable extent the same will apply to the middle-class boys' schools. By scholarships, and in other ways, it is observable that the pupils are increasingly using the Friends' schools as one stage in a course which leads on to Owens College, or to Cambridge, or to study on the Continent. As regards girls, it is likely that the influence of the High Schools will tell increasingly in the direction of retaining the daughters of Friends at home during their school life, to be followed in many cases by a time on the Continent, at the London colleges, or at Girton, Newnham, or Somerville. Then, as regards the artisan's children, if we assume the present effort to be successful in offering to them all a boarding-school education, it is not likely that the time passed there will on an average exceed two years. The time spent at the day elementary school will, in the majority of cases, much exceed that spent in the Friends' school.

* See Chapter x.

Thus it appears probable that the education of the children of Friends in every station will increasingly be carried on in connection with the national educational machinery, and less in connection with that which is exclusively denominational. Then, if the influence of the Friends' boarding-schools has diminished, and is likely to diminish, where are the factors which can compensate for this loss? They would seem to be two: (1) parental influence; (2) the direct influence of the Church, exercised through children's classes, children's meetings, Sunday Schools and in other ways. Should these two influences be brought out into greater prominence, the changes that are going on around us will bring with them some compensating advantages.

What is it that Friends aim at in the education of their children? They aim at giving them a "religious education"; but by this they mean almost the antithesis of that which many persons mean, who most often have that phrase on their tongues. A Roman Catholic, tenacious for "religious education," really means a training for the child, which shall indelibly stamp its mind with the idea that the priest—representing the Church—is alone able to give him pardon here and Heaven hereafter. A knowledge of the Church catechism is the primary idea of a religious education in the view of the average Anglican educationist.

The characteristics of a religious education according to the Friend ideal have been sketched by Samuel Tuke in the following passage:—

"We believe, indeed, that parents need to feel still more than they do, that they are the chief educators of their children, and that it is but a small portion of that great work which can be devolved upon the masters and mistresses of our schools. The charge of these instructions is indeed a weighty one; the years which are spent at school include one of the most important periods of life; body and mind are expanding—the will strengthens—the passions unfold—the judgment is still weak—the least part of education at this period, important as it is, is the mere communication of knowledge; the formation of right habits, intellectual and moral, the

fixing in the mind of Christian principles of action, and the subjection to them of the will, are of infinitely more importance to the welfare, we might say to the greatness of the future man, than the largest accumulations of art and science. Well may we inquire, who is sufficient for these things? And we are bound to answer, that with man it is impossible, but with God all things are possible; and the meek and humble follower of the Saviour in this noble calling will not want a portion of that heavenly wisdom, which, though in its operations it be often less striking to the outward eye than that which is merely human, works in harmony with divine grace, and has a power in it which is seen in its ultimate effects. Faith—hope—love—must be the sustaining watchwords of the Christian instructor."*

The passage from which the foregoing has been taken is so admirable both in matter and diction, that I should like to have extended the quotation. But I have long trespassed upon your attention and must draw towards a close. Nearly fifty years have passed since the words just read were listened to for the first time at a meeting of the Friends' Educational Society. Are they not as apposite now? Do not the truths here enforced require insisting upon to every generation? The disposition to discharge, or to try to discharge, moral and religious duty by proxy is so congenial to the human mind, that we may venture the assertion that the time will never come when the truths which Samuel Tuke enforced will cease to require emphasising by the Church of Christ. One practical object before me in preparing this paper has been to urge that more emphasis be laid on the power of this home training in habits and principles, in the Church meetings of Friends, and in the teaching of our men's and women's Adult Schools. It is a point that I hope may be further elucidated in the discussion shortly to be entered upon.

There are some other aspects of the subject we have been considering, which, had time allowed, I should like to have discussed. It might have been very interesting to consider why the stronger national and the weaker denominational

* Samuel Tuke's *Five Papers*, 110.

life of to-day affect Friends more than the other Free Churches. But this inviting train of inquiry must be left untouched.

Nor can I occupy time in deprecating criticisms, to which I foresee my paper will be open, and which indeed I could easily write myself. One remark which is certain to occur to many readers is that the reasons given for the diminished interest in Church meetings, and the lessened desire to have children educated amongst Friendly surroundings, are not adequate, and that nothing has been said of slackened religious zeal and the power of earthly-mindedness. The remembrance of these temptations has never been absent from the writer's thoughts whilst penning the foregoing ; but these things are no novelties in the experience of the Church. Spiritual languor and earthly-mindedness were largely known by the generations which have preceded us. They will always be amongst the foes of the spiritual life. But it is assumed, through all the course of the consideration to which I have invited you, that the constitution of human nature is unaltered, and that its temptations, snares, and besetments are in substance the same in Britain in the closing years of the Victorian age as they were fifty or a hundred years ago.

I think, then, I have succeeded in showing that the conditions of Church life, especially as regards the Society of Friends, have undergone a vast change in the last sixty years. Without taking account of this change, we cannot understand " the state of the Society," to use a Yearly Meeting phrase. The phenomena of Society life around us are inexplicable without having regard to the changes which have been progressive through the period named. When a ship's captain finds his vessel swept by a current in a new direction, it is greatly to his advantage if he knows the set of the current, its power, its potential helpfulness, as well as the perils to which it may expose his vessel. So the Christian Church has reason to take notice of the currents of thought, and the set of events and circumstances outside her, which affect and help to mould her collective life.

The positions I have endeavoured to make clear may be recapitulated under seven heads :—

(1) That the legislation, and the conditions of social and national life in the last seventy years, have tended to the larger introduction of Friends into civil work and society, with an accompanying tendency to relaxation of interest in their denominational concerns.

(2) That this broadened religious liberty should be hailed and remembered with constant thankfulness, as harmonising with those principles of human freedom, and the rights of conscience, proclaimed and suffered for by the first generation of Friends, and practically illustrated by them in the constitutions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

(3) That the threatened absorption of the denominational life of the Society in the national is a result to be deprecated. Both have their right places. The altered condition of things calls for the best thought from Friends, how that which is and has been distinctively excellent in their polity may be preserved.

(4) That the maintenance of the Church meetings of the Society is indispensable to its continued health, almost to its existence, and to the formation of right character in its members; hence that persevering efforts should be put forth by Friends to sustain their Church meetings, adapting arrangements to the altered circumstances of the time.

(5) That whilst service in civil society is not to be shunned, it is not necessarily the most fruitful form of Christian service, and that probably the tone of feeling amongst Friends has latterly gone at least far enough in the direction of promoting their engagements in civil and political life. As, in Apostolic days, caution was required against an over estimate of the gift of tongues, a corresponding caution may be pertinent now against undervaluing the quieter and less conspicuous spheres of service wherein Christian character is formed and matured.

(6) That the altered condition of national education is making it impossible, and even undesirable for Friends to maintain their excellent denominational boarding-school system altogether apart from the general educational life of the nation. That it is a wise policy in Friends to maintain, as far as possible, that which is

distinctively excellent in their schools, and promptly to introduce any real improvements, whilst employing the facilities now offered for testing and helping their work.

(7) That the less exclusively denominational education given to the children of Friends makes it incumbent on the Society to recall the attention of parents to the unique power of home influence in the formation of character. This influence, as well as that of the Society in its collective capacity, should be powerfully exerted for the right training of children. How this may be done, how the same aspects of religious education may be brought under the frequent notice of the members of Adult Schools, deserves the earnest attention of teachers.

CHAPTER V.

GOSPEL MINISTRY IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.*

THE apostolic solicitude that the brethren at Corinth might not be ignorant concerning spiritual gifts warrants the surmise that Paul would not have withheld his benediction from recent discussions upon the Ministry, so far as these have elucidated the true place ordained for spiritual gifts in the economy of the Christian Church.

It was pointed out by a writer in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* of 1893, p. 85, that Friends are not rich in literature on the Ministry. Joseph J. Dymond's booklet, *Gospel Ministry in the Society of Friends*, then under review, and Samuel Bownas's *Description of the Qualifications necessary to a Gospel Minister*, 1750, are almost the only denominational writings exclusively devoted to the work of the preacher. That conception of Christianity which recognises the rule of a spiritual kingdom, controlling the whole life of man, is somewhat unfavourable to concentrated attention upon one department of service, severed from its connection with kindred branches of faith and practice. The spiritual atmosphere at the time of the rise of Methodism was so different from that of our time that the present-day reader finds many of Bownas's pages occupied with matters remote from those which now demand attention. Barclay's weighty discussion in the *Apology* is naturally more antagonistic to usages from which he and his co-religionists had revolted, than constructively helpful for the development of the Ministry on lines which they approved. One may sympathise with the thought which refuses to isolate the

* From the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, of July, 1904.

work of the preacher from other departments of life, and yet acknowledge a blank in the literature of the Society, in view of such suggestive writings, whether from Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist authors, as Bishop Lightfoot's essay on *The Christian Ministry*, Phillips Brooks's *Lectures on Preaching*, Dr. John Watson's *The Cure of Souls*, Dr. R. W. Dale's *Nine Lectures on Preaching*, and C. H. Spurgeon's *Lectures to My Students*. This blank makes additionally valuable any careful treatment of the Ministry from the standpoint of Friends, in writing or in speech; and though much space has been devoted to it in this magazine, there may be room to offer a few further thoughts on so large a question.

Much which has recently been said about the Ministry emphasises the change which has come over the tone of the Society in two hundred years. In the seventeenth century its adherents strenuously maintained that theirs was a type of Ministry superior to that of the denominations around them, because exercised upon truer and more spiritual principles. Now, the defects of the Friend Ministry are apparently widely felt, and it is frequently contrasted unfavourably with that of other religious bodies. The present generation does not seem to have found the expectations of its spiritual ancestors fulfilled, and it may, perhaps, be maintained that the present condition of the Society affords some justification for current criticism. This state of things may rightly occasion searchings of heart and humiliation of spirit, especially amongst those who deem that a share in the vocal Ministry has been committed to their charge. These will welcome every contribution prompted by the desire to strengthen this department of the Society's administration.

In the Symposium on the Ministry in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* of 1903 (pp. 526-569), three of the six contributors maintain that fundamental misgivings as to the place and service of vocal Ministry are really at the root of much of the dissatisfaction felt with it, whilst a fourth practically illustrates the existence of these misgivings. The frequent recurrence of such questionings will hardly surprise any reflective person.

From the standpoint of the intellect, "the foolishness of preaching" still demands an apology. Conscious of the manifold weaknesses of our human nature, we are prone to query whether some better plan might not have been adopted than that which gives to human instrumentality so large a share in the service of God's kingdom. A ministry of angels suggests itself as free from objections incident to human ministry. Still more attractive is the idea that all communications of Divine truth should be made to man directly by God's Spirit, so that there might be a complete escape from the limitations and errors that continually assert themselves, where spiritual gifts are enshrined in earthen vessels. This was the plausible position somewhat widely accepted in Commonwealth days by the Ranters and by those Friends who, sharing their opinions, refused to teach children the facts and precepts of Christianity. The deplorable results that followed gave a timely though a rude shock to those who had accepted the fallacy lurking in this reasoning. Christ did not fashion the polity of His Church on lines necessarily commending themselves to human reason, but on principles adapted to the progressive training and education of redeemed men. The logic of the intellect stood corrected before the logic of facts.*

And now, the same authorities that proved so serviceable in respect to the education of the young are available for our guidance in determining the place and functions of vocal Ministry. The pages of the New Testament disclose the Divinely ordained principles regulating human agency in the affairs of the kingdom of God, both by our Lord's example and words, and by those of His apostles; whilst in passages like 1 Cor. xii. 14, the mutual relationship of these principles, and the conditions under which spiritual gifts are to be received and exercised, are luminously expounded. The long story of the Christian Church is at our service, illustrating the happy results which have followed obedience to these conditions, and the mischief which has followed their disregard. Perhaps still more directly serviceable for our immediate purpose is the experience of the Society of Friends,

* See George Fox's *Epistles*, Tuke's edition, 213, etc.

now extending over a period of two hundred and fifty years, including, of course, the lessons of its present condition. Such a review will surely go far to dissipate the "practical disbelief in any special gift or vocation in the Ministry of the Gospel."*

It is significant that so large a part of Christ's early work was the training and teaching of a body of disciples who were to be the apostles and heralds of His kingdom. These men, after two or three years' companionship with their Master, and an appointed tarriance at Jerusalem, received the Pentecostal endowment of spiritual power, and forthwith entered upon their great work of preaching the Gospel to every creature. Yet they were not insensible of their limitations. They knew in part, and they prophesied in part. But they followed their Master's methods in employing human agency to extend and build up His kingdom. In every Church they appointed elders—office-bearers charged with two main lines of service, the ministry of the Word and the ministry of tables, the qualifications for both being in some conspicuous instances combined in one person, as in the proto-martyr. Their doctrinal writings corresponded with their practice. In the earliest apostolic letters, the Thessalonians were besought "to know them that labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them exceeding highly in love for their work's sake."† The Roman Christians were taught that "having gifts differing according to the grace that was given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of our faith; or ministry, let us give ourselves to our ministry."‡ The same writer instructed the Ephesians that Christ, having led captivity captive, was conferring gifts on men, "some to be apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ."§ The bestowal of these gifts was appealed to as a token of the continuing care of Christ for His Church; "God also bearing witness with them both by

* See the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1903, 546. † 1 Thess. v. 12-13.
‡ Rom. xii. 6-7. § Ephes. iv. 11-12.

signs and wonders, and by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Ghost."* In the presence of these Divinely bestowed gifts, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews saw a symptom of spiritual weakness when the station of the Christian labourers came to be meanly esteemed:—"Remember them that had the rule over you, which spake unto you the word of God, and considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith." And again, in the same chapter:—"Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit to them: for they watch in behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account."† Reviewing the methods by which Christianity was diffused, and the Churches built up throughout the Roman Empire, we everywhere find evidences of organisation, and the presence of spiritual gifts—*charismata*—for the edification as well as for the ingathering of disciples.

A humble man was the Apostle Paul, "the chief of sinners," "not worthy to be called an apostle" when he remembered his pre-Christian days; but this personal humility never obscured his sense of the call to the Ministry received from Christ. Whether writing to the great Churches at Rome or Corinth, or to young men like Timothy and Titus, he prefaces his letters with exordiums like these:—

"Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, separated unto the Gospel of God;" or, "called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God"; or, "an apostle of Christ Jesus, according to the commandment of God our Saviour." The Corinthians were instructed to account him and his colleagues as "ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God" ‡ When writing his second epistle, he represents himself and his colleagues as "able ministers of the New Testament,"§ by virtue of the Divine sufficiency which has been conferred upon them, and he encourages his fellow labourers to cherish corresponding thoughts in regard to their gifts. He charged the Ephesian elders: "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, to feed the church of

* Heb. ii. 4. † Heb. xiii. 7, 17. ‡ 1 Cor. iv. 1.
§ 2 Cor. iii. 6.

God, which He purchased with His own blood."* Timothy, as a young Minister, is counselled not to neglect the gift that was in him, "given by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Be diligent in these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy progress may be manifest unto all."† Again, in his succeeding letter, the Apostle says, "I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee through the laying on of my hands."‡

One does not forget, when reading these Scriptures, that Paul wrought at tent-making, but it is clear that trade held a very subordinate position in his thoughts and the occupation of his time, as compared with the time and labour given to Gospel Ministry. He saw that men were to be "workers together with God." He felt in his own case the strength that sprang from the conviction of having received a call to speak to his fellows on behalf of God, and he desired that the same dynamic principle might strengthen other labourers. The action of this sense of vocation is not peculiar to religious work—it is found in many departments of human activity; it may animate the statesman, stimulate the schoolmaster, glorify the life of the wife and mother. On the other hand, the labourer who cherishes doubts concerning the validity of his calling, risks an attack of mental and spiritual paralysis which will retard or will arrest his service.

Turning now to the experience of Friends, it is an historic fact that they were first gathered, as a people, by preachers conscious of having received a Divine call to the Ministry of the Gospel. The years of preparation through which George Fox passed before entering on his mission constitute a memorable passage in religious biography. He does not seem to have done any manual work after attaining his majority, but in spiritual fields he was, as William Penn witnesses, "an incessant labourer," and so were his most trusted colleagues. The establishment of the Society in London was a great achievement in the Home Mission field. Foremost among the evangelists were Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough. In 1656 these devoted men

* Acts xx. 28. † 1 Tim. iv. 14-15. ‡ 2 Tim. i. 6.

report that twenty meetings were being held every week in the metropolis; those for "thrashing" being of the most laborious character, which only men of great bodily and spiritual strength could have faced.

Of their service Edward Burrough, writing in 1662, says that after the first opposition had been somewhat surmounted—

"the work of the Lord was much increased and it advanced greater and greater daily, in respect of the service pertaining to it."

He then specified some of the business which sprang up in connection with the rapid growth of Truth:—

"not so proper for us of the Ministry, as for the Friends of the City: neither had we the opportunity of such exercises, being wholly devoted to the work of the Ministry, to which we were ordained of God, and were continually exercised in preaching the Gospel, in answering books and manuscripts put forth against us, and in disputes and contentions with such as opposed the Truth. These and the like services have been our continual work and exercise for these divers years, faithfully performed by us in the sight of God."*

At a somewhat later date, Stephen Crisp—a man of large gifts, appertaining both to the ministry of the Word and the ministry of tables—says of his own service:—

"And I was exercised, according to my ability, in visiting the assemblies of the Lord's people in Essex and Suffolk, where it lay upon me; and in helping and assisting the Lord's people according to my ability, both in their spiritual and temporal concerns, as the Lord God of my life gave me an understanding: for I gave up the ordering of my spirit unto Him; and He opened me in many things relating to the affairs of this world, that I might be as a staff to the weak in those things, and might stand by the widow and fatherless, and plead the right of the poor. In all which, I sought neither honour nor profit, but did all things freely, as I received of God: and He whom I served was my reward, so that I lacked nothing. Therefore, who would not praise the Lord, and who would not trust in His Name?"†

It is not to be supposed that every Friend Minister of this period was as diligent as those who have been named. Ten

* *Letters of Early Friends*, 299.

† Tuke's *Memoirs of Stephen Crisp*, 92, 93.

years had not passed from the opening of George Fox's Ministry before he laments a declension in some whose religious work was languishing under the influence of growing earthly prosperity. To these he wrote :—

"Take heed of setting your hearts upon riches lest they become a curse and a plague to you. For when ye were faithful at the first, the world would refrain from you and not have commerce with you ; but after, when they saw ye were faithful and just in things, and righteous and honest in your trading and dealings, then they came to have commerce and trade with you the more. But [he added] in these things there is danger, and temptation [for] that ye can hardly do anything to the service of God, but will be crying, 'My business, my business.'"*

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Public Friends† of the seventeenth century gave no occasion for anxiety ; many of them did occasion anxiety and require counsel ; and very pertinent counsel was not withheld. In his correspondence with Fox, Burrough laid great stress on the importance, for Friends' evangelistic work, of having rightly qualified Ministers. He himself must have exercised a somewhat strenuous control over them ; for instance, in 1656, he sent one of the women preachers to Fox with this note :—

"This little short maid that comes to thee, she has been this long while abroad, and in her there is little or no service as in the ministry. It were well to be laid on her to be a servant somewhere. That is more her place. I leave it to thee. Friends where she has been have been burdened by her."

Again, in 1658, William Dewsbury writes to Margaret Fell, asking her to send a man and horse for S— K—, saying, "The Truth is under suffering until she be in her family again."

In the later years of the seventeenth century the problem how to maintain spiritual liberty along with congregational order confronted the second generation of Friends in an imperious fashion. It is estimated that there were now some 10,000 Friends in the metropolis, not all of them sober-minded persons. The weddings solemnised amongst them averaged more than one a

* See George Fox's *Epistles*, Tuke's edition, 82. † See note, p. 257.

week ; funerals to be attended were of course frequent. Hence an organisation was required different from that of the "thrashing-meeting" era in the lifetime of Edward Burrough. The distribution of the Public Friends to the various meetings for Divine worship had to be arranged every Sunday by a simple yet efficient machinery, as well as their attendance at marriages and funerals. A similar organisation existed at Bristol, and the germs of one are discernible in the early minutes of the Yorkshire Ministers. This was the period when the meetings for discipline—monthly, quarterly, and yearly—were coming into existence. These, at their inception, encountered a widely spread opposition, some of the consequences of which are still discernible.

The Wilkinson and Story schismatics numbered amongst their ranks good men who had witnessed to the reality of their faith by patient endurance of imprisonment ; but there were also base elements that mingled in the movement. The literature of the controversy reveals great personal jealousy of George Fox and his more prominent colleagues ; it discloses the presence of very high spiritual assumption in alliance with selfish motives. There was a disparagement of all Ministry, and, in fact, of all human instrumentality.*

Objections were raised to appointing either time or place for meetings for worship or discipline. Great exception was taken to the large subscriptions required for the work of the itinerant preachers. Some of the dissentients objected to the boldness of Friends in holding their meetings in the face of cruel persecution, and counselled a more time-serving attitude. It was apparently in connection with this controversy that London Yearly Meeting was founded, or at any rate that its character was changed from being a comparatively small gathering of Ministers to one with a strong representative element. Ultimately, the upholders of Church government through the meetings for discipline were successful, and in the course of years many of the dissentients rejoined the Society.

* See chapter ii.

The work of the itinerant Ministry continued—although with lessening frequency—through the reign of Queen Anne and her immediate successors. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century some of the country meetings received religious visits from travelling Ministers every other Sunday throughout the year. The late Charles Hoyland compiled a list of 2,709 Ministers who died in Great Britain and Ireland between 1700 and 1859; of these, one-half died in the fifty years between 1700 and 1750.*

There is reason to believe that in 1700 two-thirds of all the Friend congregations had approved Ministers resident within their limits. Fifty years later the number of Public Friends had so diminished that two-thirds of the meetings were without resident Ministers, whilst the distribution of preachers in London and elsewhere had become inefficient. In 1751, Samuel Bownas, whose own Ministry had begun in 1697, wrote: "The Church seems very barren of young Ministers to what it was in our youth, nor is there much convincement to what was then." It was an epoch of religious lethargy. The meetings for discipline in some districts were discontinued, and the numerical strength of the Society declined.

* The following is the Return of Deaths of Ministering Friends between 1700 and 1859, compiled by the late Charles Hoyland:—

Periods of Ten Years.	Men.	Women.	Total.
From 1700–1709	144	43	187
1710–1719	192	73	265
1720–1729	205	108	313
1730–1739	159	88	247
1740–1749	155	102	257
1750–1759	116	102	218
1760–1769	123	95	218
1770–1779	93	95	188
1780–1789	80	73	153
1790–1799	51	55	106
1800–1809	47	47	94
1810–1819	33	61	94
1820–1829	34	57	91
1830–1839	42	64	106
1840–1849	35	58	93
1850–1859	25	54	79
	1534	1175	2709

William Thistlethwaite stated (1865) that from a mass of information which he had collected it was evident that in many districts the number of Ministers, at the date when he was writing, was less than one-third of what it had been in 1700.*

In the past forty years those taking vocal part in meetings for worship in this country have much increased in number. By the figures laid before the Conference on the Ministry, held at York in 1903,† it appears that there are nearly one thousand persons speaking not infrequently in meetings for worship, and about an equal number speaking occasionally. The number of Recorded and unrecorded Ministers forty years ago was about six hundred. Along with this larger liberty of prophesying, which may be hailed with thankfulness, other changes have been in progress which cannot be regarded without apprehension. To very few amongst this large number of speakers would the remark apply, made in the memoir of Benjamin Seebohm : " His Ministry was the most characteristic thing about his life. More than anything else it was evidently that for which he lived."‡ Again, whilst undoubtedly many Ministers take part in the week-end visitation of other meetings than their own, the number who travel with certificate from place to place on religious service is very small. The number of family visits has also greatly diminished ; and the occurrence of those unarranged-for seasons

* *Four Lectures on the Rise, Progress, and Past Proceedings of the Society of Friends in Great Britain,* 108-110.

† This Conference was called in November, 1903, by London Yearly Meeting, to consider the question of the Recording of Ministers, and was presided over by John S. Rowntree. From very early times Friends have believed it helpful to record on their minute books the bestowal by the great Head of the Church, of a gift in the vocal Ministry. (See note by J. S. R. in *Journal Friends' Historical Society,* ii. 84.) This record does not in any sense constitute an appointment, and is only made in the case of those members who show unmistakable evidence of having been called to this public service. The Conference heard many expressions of opinion as to the helpfulness or otherwise of the practice of Recording, but did not feel prepared to suggest any alteration.—[EDITOR.]

‡ *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm* (1873), 7. Benjamin Seebohm was born in Germany in 1797. Early in life he removed to England and took up his residence at Bradford (Yorks.). Here, at the age of twenty-three years, he first engaged in the vocal Ministry, to which service he devoted himself unstintingly during the rest of his life, in this country and in America. He edited the *Journal of Stephen Grellet* and *Memoirs of William Forster.* He died at Luton in 1871, aged 73 years.—[EDITOR.]

of silent religious waiting, ministry, and prayer, frequent at a former period in the hours of social intercourse, has become very uncommon. So, too, have spoken words of thanksgiving before or after meals.

Our review of the Society's experience in regard to Gospel Ministry, imperfect as it is, must not be entirely silent in regard to three significant developments of the past half-century :—

(1) The rise and extension of the pastoral system amongst Friends in the United States of America need not detain us, because the extent of the movement and some of its more remarkable features have been sufficiently set forth in the sixth paper of last year's Symposium.* We agree with the author of that paper in deeming the cardinal significance of the movement to be the evidence it affords of the failure of the previously existing Ministry to supply the spiritual requirements of the Society, especially amongst the newly settled communities in the Western States.

(2) The spread of the First-day School work, a movement still rapidly extending in this country, is a remarkable illustration of the larger reception of the gift of teaching by a religious community, and of the blessing both to teachers and taught following the occupancy of the gift. The New Testament usually ranks the gift of teaching below that of prophecy, but the two gifts are closely allied, and it is often hard to determine where the one ends and the other begins. "Paul and Barnabas tarried in Antioch, teaching and preaching."† Very few will question the eminent value of the gift of sympathetic teaching conferred upon the late William White,‡ of Birmingham, conspicuously qualifying him for service in extending the Redeemer's Kingdom.

(3) The widely increased interest taken in Foreign Mission work during the last thirty years is a very notable feature in

* *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1903, p. 550.

† Acts xv. 35.

‡ One of the most efficient pioneers of the Adult School Movement. He was also an earnest worker among Friends, in the vocal ministry and in other ways. He wrote *Friends in Warwickshire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Born 1820. Died 1900.—[EDITOR.]

the Society's recent history. In the days of Oliver Cromwell a number of Friend preachers were actively engaged in Foreign Mission service, as appears by the records of the early Yearly Meetings at Skipton. These missionaries, both men and women, penetrated into most of the countries of Europe, and some even extended their journeys beyond its eastern limits. The expedition of Mary Fisher to the camp of the Sultan Mahomet at Adrianople has furnished material for picturesque narrative, both in prose and verse. It must, however, be admitted that there was but little apparent result from this missionary activity, and in the course of a few years it subsided, to be followed by a long interval in which but little direct effort was made by Friends to spread the Gospel in non-Christian lands. Through a chain of events, frequently recounted, which it is unnecessary here to repeat, the Friends' Foreign Mission Association was founded in 1866. Since that date its work has been continually growing, both in extent and importance, till, at the present time, it is sustaining the labours of more than one hundred missionaries, men and women, engaged in various forms of evangelistic service in non-Christian populations. The general interest taken in the work has steadily extended through the Society, so that the contributions now raised for its furtherance exceed those subscribed for any other denominational object. Children born among Friends previous to 1870 heard very little about missionary work in connection with the Society to which they belonged. Now the Missionary Helpers' Union familiarises hundreds of boys and girls with a knowledge of the Gospel labours going on in China, Japan, India, Ceylon, Madagascar, Syria, and Pemba.

Imperfect as is our sketch of the experience of the early Christian Church and of the Society of Friends in regard to Gospel Ministry, it has left us but little space to speak of details of rule or usage affecting the Ministry at the present time. Whilst conscious that to many readers the preceding pages will be but as a recital of a thrice-told tale, we can hardly regret the space occupied if it serve to clear our thoughts in regard to principles lying at the

threshold of any useful consideration of questions of ministerial arrangement or procedure ; for we concur in the opinion expressed in the fifth paper of last year's Symposium :—" Until the Church is convinced that gifts exist, it is useless to argue about arrangements for their exercise. . . . . I believe," continues the writer, " that this tacit disbelief and consequent neglect of gifts is a chief source of the weakness shown in our meetings for worship, of our failure to hold our members, and of our powerlessness to impress the world."

What, then, are the salient lessons deducible from the pages of past experience ? At the outset, one is impressed with the similiarity between the experience of the Primitive Christians and that of the Society of Friends. In both we find the Head of the Church liberally bestowing spiritual gifts upon His followers. The faithful preaching of the Gospel in the first century and in the seventeenth proved alike instrumental in bringing sinners to a saving knowledge of Christ. In both, when disciples had been gathered into groups, the presence of the Spirit was known, and the liberty which accompanies that holy presence. Human infirmity was also present; but the Christian community knew itself to be a priestly body possessing spiritual perceptions, and so able to admonish its prophets. Order was shown to be the handmaid of liberty, at Corinth in the first century and at Gracechurch Street in the seventeenth. The proceedings of Christian communities must be subject to certain basal laws. All things must be done decently and in order—all things must be done to edifying. The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. A strong presumption is thus established for the permanence of the conditions enunciated in the New Testament regarding spiritual gifts. One or two of these, like the gift of tongues, have, for adequate reasons, passed away ; but the spiritual wants of human nature continuing substantially the same from generation to generation, the weightier gifts of prophecy, teaching, evangelisation, and shepherding are not superseded by time, changes of civilisation, or by any legitimate development of Church life or organisation.

If we limit our view to a more strictly denominational standpoint, the following can hardly be deemed disputable positions :—

(1) That the Society of Friends was chiefly gathered through the strenuous labours of men and women believing that they had been called to the Ministry of the Gospel by Christ Himself, and that their gift was to be exercised under the continual anointing of His Spirit.

(2) That the upbuilding and organisation of the Society, in the middle and later years of the seventeenth century, was chiefly the work of its Public Friends, who devoted much time and energy to its service.*

(3) When the number of Ministers lessened, and the visits of the itinerant preachers became less frequent, the life and numbers of the Society correspondingly declined. This decline, it may be noted, went on simultaneously with a remarkable development of itinerant preaching under the administration of the Methodists.

(4) There is no evidence of any Friend congregation having flourished for any considerable length of time, or having efficiently

* Throughout the seventeenth century nearly all the Public Friends travelled "in the service of Truth." The Monthly Meetings signified approval or disapproval of their service by granting or withholding certificates, in which the labourers might be styled "Elders," "Ministers," or "Approved Ministers." By the payment of their expenses, by the entering of their names in the books kept for the distribution of the Ministry, by their seating in meeting, and in some other indirect ways, the recognition and control of the Ministry by the Society in the first seventy years of its history, was as real as, or probably more real than, when the procedure of recognition became more formal after 1723.

The first Query ever asked by London Yearly Meeting (in the year 1682) was : "What Friends in the Ministry in their respective counties departed this life since the last Yearly Meeting ?" In 1696, the corresponding Query was the fifth, and ran : "How many Publick Friends dyed, and when ?"

The recognition of Ministers, by whatever method it may be compassed, appears, like the laying-on of hands in the first century, ultimately to rest on two far-reaching principles :—

(1) That a Christian Church gathered in the name of Christ possesses spiritual functions qualifying it to judge of the validity of spiritual gifts; and that the congregation, and not the individual, must be the ultimate determining body in regard to the exercise of vocal Ministry, in times of congregational worship. (1 Cor. xii. 28-31 ; xiv. 29-33.)

(2) That for the efficient discharge of the laborious and faith-testing service of the Christian Ministry, men require tokens of human sympathy and approval, as well as the sense of spiritual call to their work (Acts ix. 11, 17 ; xiii. 2, 3 ; xxviii. 15, etc.).

fulfilled the objects of Church fellowship, in the absence of living Gospel Ministry.

(5) When in recent years languishing congregations have again flourished, it is found that they are those in which there has been both the bestowal and the acceptance of spiritual gifts qualifying for Gospel Ministry.

"The outstanding lesson of the London religious census," says R. Mudie Smith, "is that the power of preaching is undiminished."*

If, as appears, it is indisputable that a living Gospel Ministry is still most intimately related to the life of a Christian community, it must be the imperative duty of that community sedulously to foster the spiritual gifts conferred on its members. By what methods can this be done? The First-day School and Foreign Mission work going on around us suggest an answer. Through some generations, the exercise of the gifts of teaching and of evangelisation towards those outside the Society's pale was in abeyance; but when the community awoke to its responsibility in these directions, and prayed the Lord of the Harvest to send out labourers, the labourers were forthcoming; and the Society found, and is still finding, through failure as well as through success, the fitting methods for imparting religious teaching in the Adult Schools, and for the evangelisation of the heathen.

It may have appeared to some that the immediate outcome of the discussions on the Ministry in the York Conference and in the Society's journals has been small and disappointing; but this will not be the lasting result if we have reached a clearer understanding of the conditions under which alone Christian Ministry can flourish. One of these is its thankful acceptance by the Christian community as a foremost means for the spread and maintenance of Christian truth. Individuals and congregations need to be instant in prayer for the call and equipment of Gospel labourers, and the service of these labourers requires constant assistance by every legitimate method suggested by Scripture and experience. The Society possesses in its Meetings on Ministry

* See *The Religious Life of London*, 7.

and Oversight * a machinery which might do far more for the nurture of the Ministry than it is now accomplishing. Woodbrooke† promises to become a truly helpful centre for the equipment of labourers for diversified fields of social and religious service. The general interest that has been excited, and the numerous modifications of usage which have been proposed, may be hailed as signs that increased thought is being directed to this question of cardinal moment. Nor need we be discouraged if some of these suggestions be crude, and unsuited to meet the needs of our time. Various proposals, seemingly intended to belittle the status of the Ministry, appear to the present writer almost the reverse of what the requirements of the day demand. From the influence of causes on which there is no time now to dwell, the ideal of the Ministry amongst Friends has become too contracted. We do not question that there may be a right call for some whose vocal service is practically restricted to one meeting for worship weekly. It is probably in right ordering that some men are primarily merchants, legislators, magistrates, total abstinence advocates, authors, and what not—and in a very secondary sense Gospel Ministers ; but is there not a crying need for men and women to whom the Christian Ministry, in their own country, shall be as distinctively the first object of their lives, as is evangelistic work to our missionaries in China or Madagascar ? Do we not need more of the spirit which led Paul to tell his Roman correspondents, " I glorify my ministry " ?‡ Would it not be right, in speaking of fields of future service to those at school and college, to name the home Ministry in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as adult-school teaching, foreign mission labour, magisterial, municipal, or parliamentary life,

* The " Meetings on Ministry and Oversight " were given up in 1906. The work formerly done by these meetings is now performed by committees. —[EDITOR.]

† The Woodbrooke Settlement for Religious and Social Study was founded in 1903. It aims at giving Friends and those associated with them " the opportunity for more fully qualifying themselves, spiritually, intellectually, and experimentally, for any service to which they may feel called." —[EDITOR.]

‡ Rom. xi. 13, R.V.

as a sphere into which their feet may be rightly led by the constraining love of Christ ? The Society should get more work out of its Ministers than it is now doing—more of itinerant service—more of the visitation of meetings—more of teaching, "publicly and from house to house . . . repentance towards God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ" after the manner of Edward Burrough, Stephen Crisp, or Benjamin Seebohm, as illustrated in passages cited in previous pages. And who should do this work ? Very largely men and women under forty years of age is the answer that comes to us from the past. So far as any present usages in regard to recognition and the issue of certificates are curtailing the services of the young and vigorous, they urgently demand amendment. And whilst it would be wrong to conceal the terms of discipleship, or to disguise the fact that this is not a pathway to earthly wealth, it is incumbent on the Society to make more generous and efficient provision for defraying all the out-of-pocket expenses of its labourers than has often been done. We do not grudge the Foreign Mission service any of the many thousands of pounds it needs and obtains, but should like to see, say, a modest thousand pounds spent in this country, in discharging the expenses of our Ministers—so giving heed to many Scriptural exhortations, and to such an admonition as this which comes to us from the Friends of the Cromwellian era :—"That care be taken for the families and goods of such as are called forth into the ministry, or [who] are imprisoned for the Truth's sake ; that no creatures be lost for want of the creatures."*

But the temptation to enter into the details of methods must be resisted. Many of the practical requirements of Friends in regard to the Ministry have been well set forth by J. J. Dymond in his little book† already referred to, and in several articles which have appeared lately.‡ Could we but master the

* *Letters of Early Friends*, 278.

† *Gospel Ministry in the Society of Friends.*

‡ See "The Church and the Missionary," and companion papers. The *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, 1903, 546, etc.

principles that underlie the institution of the Christian Ministry, and seek to give effect to them, so far as this depends on human action, working under Heavenly guidance, details would arrange themselves. The ability to adapt means to ends, in the spiritual as in the natural world, "cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in effectual working."

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORK AND MAINTENANCE OF THE VOCAL MINISTRY.*

THE early history of the Society of Friends is remarkable for having illustrated, three generations before the rise of Methodism, the great power of an itinerant Ministry. The Society can hardly be said to have taken root in London before 1653 or 1654, when the visits of some of the north country evangelists, especially Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, led to such a great ingathering that, in spite of the terrible persecution which recurred again and again in the ensuing thirty years, it seems to be well established that there were not fewer than ten thousand Friends in London in 1678.†

In the later years of Fox's life he repeatedly stirred up his brethren in the Ministry to unremitting labour in the spreading of the truth.‡ It is observable that in 1695, six years after the passing of the Toleration Act, the Yearly Meeting issued a strong recommendation in the same direction, *viz*:—

"This Meeting desires and hopes that you, whom the Lord hath gifted with a public testimony for His name and truth will, in this day of liberty, be diligent to visit the heritage of God in their Meetings; and, more especially, those least frequented."

For many years after this, the number of religious visits paid to the meetings of Friends continued to be very large. In his

* Portions of a paper published in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, April, 1897, under the title of "Meetings on Ministry and Oversight: their place and functions."

† *London Friends' Meetings*, 32.

‡ See George Fox's *Epistles*, Tuke's edition, 27, 34, 73, 204, 208, etc.

lectures upon the history of Friends in Bristol and Somerset, William Tanner says the number of religious visits received from Friends from a distance was very great. Jacob P. Sturge examined a book of a Gloucestershire meeting, in which was kept an account of the charges for the horses of Friends who came to visit, and found the number averaged one a fortnight for many years.* William Tanner estimated the number who visited Bristol to have been at least as large. The Ministers' horses in that city ate 36½ bushels of oats in fifteen months, apparently a usual quantity. In Skeats's history of the Free Churches we have evidence in the same direction from an historian who was not himself a Friend. Writing of the year 1713, he says, "The Society was kept in vigorous life by the missionary spirit of its members. Like George Fox, the preachers of the denomination travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land, and in such a sense that the Quakers may be justly described as the founders of the first home missionary organizations."†

William Thistlethwaite says‡ that at the commencement of the eighteenth century the itinerant activity of the Ministry was very great. He goes on to observe that in 1700, fully two-thirds of all the meetings of Friends had acknowledged Ministers residing within their limits. By the middle of the eighteenth century the number of ministerial visits was fast diminishing, yet a correspondent informs us that in 1748, sixteen Ministers, three being Americans, visited Brighouse and Hightown Meetings in Yorkshire. In the nineteen years, 1740-59, 147 ministering Friends visited these meetings.

There can be no doubt that it was by strenuous, sustained effort that the Society of Friends was first gathered, and that it was by a continuance of the same class of evangelistic labour in the visitation of families and congregations that it was consolidated and built up, so far as this was accomplished, in the

* *Three Lectures on the Early History of the Society of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 91.

† *History of the Free Churches of England*, 210.

‡ *Four Lectures*, 110.

years succeeding the Revolution of 1688. Hence the visitation of congregations is in entire harmony with the usages of the Society from the earliest times. Let us look at this duty of congregational visitation in the light of recent experience.

When the Friends' First-day Schools sprang up, fifty years ago, the appointment of teachers to different classes and the provision of substitutes for absentees became the constant business of superintendents and of teachers' meetings. In these Schools, as elsewhere, it is not always easy to get the right man in the right place, but the inadvisability of leaving Schools to take care of themselves has been deemed self-evident. The most successful teachers will, no doubt, train their classes not to depend upon them for every week's teaching ; but speaking broadly, the First-day Schools do aim at, and secure, a suitable distribution of teachers to scholars. So, too, in most of the Friends' mission meetings, the presence of readers or speakers is almost always arranged for beforehand. But the exercise of similar care as respects Friends' meetings for worship has not obtained, to the same extent at any rate, of late times. And yet it would be strange if these gatherings were exceptions to conditions found important elsewhere. It is not our intention to suggest that an Adult School and a Friends' meeting for worship stand exactly on the same platform in relation to the importance of the presence of any particular person. The constitution of a School would seem to involve the idea of persons needing to be taught, and of a person able to teach. A meeting for worship does not necessarily carry with it this idea. It is a glorious feature of the worship of the New Covenant that it is not dependent upon the presence of any humanly ordained person, or upon any local sanctity. But an appeal to facts shows that congregational worship, like all human institutions, has its conditions. Some of these are clearly enunciated in Scripture. The gathering must be in *the name of Christ.* Again, all things must be " done decently and in order." Friends through many generations have rightly insisted upon punctuality, regularity in attendance, and non-drowsiness, as amongst other conditions for having good meetings. So, too, is the

orderly distribution of preachers. If, as we see is the fact, the Lord Jesus Christ has in some congregations bestowed gifts of utterance upon many of the members, whilst in others there are few or none possessing these gifts, it is unreasonable to suppose that these congregations are so differently constituted that it can be in right ordering for some habitually to sit in silence, while others rarely or never do so. And here we have the helpful guidance of facts. So far as we know, no instance exists of any considerable-sized meeting having flourished for a long period when habitually held in silence. There are very many cases of meetings so held having decayed and died out. When, therefore, we find one congregation having many Ministers, and others with few or none, we may reverently appropriate our Lord's words and say:—"Why even of yourselves judge ye not" that the lack of one congregation is to be supplied from the abundance of the other? It was when the number of Ministers declined that the Friends' meetings declined. It was when the itinerant Ministry lessened in numbers and frequency that the life of the Society as a whole lessened. Thus, then, there is a strong concurrence of testimony that the distribution of the Ministry to meet the requirements of its congregations is an urgent duty of a religious body modelled on the principles of the Society of Friends. And it must be admitted that this duty is now but imperfectly carried out. A few months ago the present writer heard verbal reports given at a Monthly Meeting of the condition of its congregations, by which it incidentally transpired that on the previous day three meetings with upwards of one hundred worshippers, including a number of children, had been held in silence. The next First-day twelve or fifteen Ministers were present at a meeting, about thirty miles distant, which the writer attended.

From an early period in the reign of Charles II., the Public Friends resident in London met at ten o'clock every second-day morning to attend to various matters of Society business.* The censorship of manuscripts which it was proposed to print apparently occupied more time than anything else, in the last years

* See *London Friends' Meetings*, 339.

of the century. In addition to this, the Ministers present determined, in outline, at least, on the meetings which each would attend in the ensuing week. Ministers not present sent notes intimating their intentions to Ellis Hookes, the Recording Clerk. Those who were present signed the "First-day Meetings Book" personally or by proxy, placing their names opposite the meeting to be attended. The Ministers met again early on First-day morning, and after a brief time of devotion, walked or rode to the different meetings. Saddled horses were ready for those going to the more distant places. The early records contain very few entries of women's names. The Second-day Morning Meeting consisted exclusively of men Ministers. The aim appears to have been to secure the presence of at least two Ministers for each congregation. On special occasions, as at Whitsuntide, when the Yearly Meeting was always in session, the number of Ministers attending each of the London meetings was much larger; there are then often as many as six or eight names down for the principal congregations. At other times the number of Ministers available seems frequently to have been too small for the number of meetings; and especially as respects the more distant places, the appointments to attend were generally small. Meetings as far north as Hitchin, and south as Rochester, are amongst the places mentioned in these books. The Ministers present at one meeting in London in the morning frequently changed over to another in the afternoon. Those who were at the Bull and Mouth,* for instance, in the morning would go to Devonshire House* in the afternoon, whilst those

* The Bull and Mouth meeting house, the first possessed by Friends in London, was part of an ancient inn in Aldersgate Street. Howgill and Burrough hired the room, which would hold 1,000 people, in 1654. The Great Fire destroyed the building, which was however re-erected and used until 1740. Devonshire House was originally part of the princely mansion of the Cavendishes, of whom Friends leased certain portions when the Fire had left them without a meeting-place. The beautifully decorated rooms were used until 1678, when pressing need arose for increased accommodation, and the purchase of Sir Thomas More's old residence of Crosby Hall was considered. Finally a portion of the Devonshire estate was leased and on this a meeting house was built at a cost of £630. The lease became Friends' property in 1766, and twenty-three years later the Dolphin Inn was purchased, which admitted of two large meeting houses being erected near to the then existing one. This block of buildings, with later improvements and additions, constitutes the present Devonshire House premises.—[EDITOR.]

who had been at Devonshire House in the morning might be found at the Bull and Mouth in the afternoon. Similar appointments, but usually smaller, were made for the week-day meetings. When approaching marriages and funerals were known of, memoranda to that effect are entered in the books, with appointments to attend the same. For instance, on the 5th of 2nd month, 1713, there are brief memoranda of two funerals, "Wapping—a burial." Robert Curtis and two others to attend. "Horsley-down—a burial on 7th day." G. Chalkley and three others to attend. Again, "1710, 3rd month 30th, marriage at Devonshire House at 9 of the clock" (the usual hour for marriages), William Penn to attend.

These provisions will, however, be more clearly understood if we reproduce one of the actual entries. (See p. 268.)

The existing minutes of the Morning Meeting* date from the year 1673: any previous to that date may have been made upon sheets of paper, and lost. The earliest of the "First-day Morning Books" existing—ruled folios sixteen inches by eleven—is that of 1699.† Previous records have perished. The system itself appears to have been organised about 1675, and probably was gradually matured as time passed. There are numerous entries relative to it in the minutes of the Morning Meeting: *e.g.*—

"At a meeting at Edward Mans, ye 17th day of ye 3rd mo., 1675, it is desired that all Friends in and about the city, that have a public testimony for God or Ministry, do meet with the brethren on every First-day and Second-day morning when they can; otherwise to send a note to the meetings, signifying what meetings they intend to be at on the First-days."

Six years later there occurs the following minute:

"At a Second-day or Morning Meeting, the 16th. 3rd, 1681, it is the desire and advice of this meeting, that the Friends in and about

* See page 149*n*.

† An additional volume of this series, presumably, is now in Friends' Library, 142, N. Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia. It is entitled *First Days Meetings Supplied by Friends in the Ministry in and about London*, 1682. A written copy of this, with photographic reproduction of several pages of the original, is in the Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.—[EDITOR.]

1699. $\frac{4}{\text{mo.}}$ 4th	FIRST-DAY. Morning Meetings.	Afternoon Meetings.	
			Croydon. John Kennerly Rt. Soothworth
Brewers Hall ..	Benjamin Bangs .. Richard Thomas .. Richard Hinckson ..	John Gratton Ambrose Rigg	*Debtford.* Daniel Monroe John Bowater Thomas Clarke
Devonshire House	John Feddeman .. Richard Ashbye .. Joseph Rogers ..	Samuel Hunt Thomas Cooke Joshua Middleton	*Enfield.* G. Chalkley Mary Gulson
Gracechurch Street	John Gratton .. Anthony Sharpe .. Ambrose Rigg ..	Benjamin Bangs Richard Ashbye	*Cobham.* Theod. Eccleston
Horselydowne ..	Peter Fearon .. Jonathan Free .. Samuel Overton .. George Bewley ..	Joseph Baines John Tompson George Knippe Thomas Chauckley	*Wanstead.* William Penn Thomas Pennick
Parke	Robert Collier .. Joseph Baines .. John Tompson .. George Knipe ..	Richard Thomas Peter Fearon George Bewley John Killburne	*Newington.* Richard Davies Wm. Fallowfield Robt. Atkinson
Peel	.. ..	Samuel Overton Jonathan Free Robert Curtiss John Banks	*Wansworth.* Daniel Flaxman Joseph Nott
Ratcliff	Nicholas Gates .. Richard Vivers .. Luke Howard ..	Nicholas Gates Richard Vivers Luke Howard	*Hammersmith.* George Bowles Wm. Bingley
Savoy	Edward Edwards .. John Banks .. Thomas Aldam .. George Whitehead		*Mill Hill.* Humph. Wollrich
Westminster ..	.. ..	Robert Collier Thomas Aldam Richard Hinckson George Whitehead	*Hunsden.* Jon. Lee
Wheeler Street ..	Wm. Hornould ..	Jonathan Feddeman Joseph Rogers Anthony Sharpe	*Kingstone.* Tho. Knappe
Longacre	.. ..	William Warren John Leech Thomas Bevin	Monthly Meeting to-morrow.

Notes.

The signature of William Penn on this sheet is apparently an autograph.

Between 50 and 60 persons are named in this week's record, amongst whom there is but one woman.

There was a register for week-day as well as First-day meetings.

this City, or any others who have public testimony, and shall have it upon them at any time to visit the adjacent meetings near the City upon the First-days, that they come and give good notice on the seventh day, or any other day before, at Ellis [the Recording Clerk's] his chamber, by writing of their names and what meeting they intended to be at next day, that, as much as may be, those meetings may be equally supplied so as there may not be several at one meeting and none at another."

The Morning Meeting at various times reviewed its origin, and the purposes for which it had been established. For instance, in 1697, 11 mo. 31, we find an entry:—

"Two papers of George Fox's relating to keeping meetings quiet when such as Friends have not satisfaction with, or have joined with the separation, comes to impose their preaching—referred to the Six Weeks Meeting to take care therein. John Vaughton and Theodor Eccleston to carry the said papers thither.

"Another epistle read of George Fox's to this meeting to advise against many ministering Friends going to one meeting and leaving other meetings neglected or not well supplied. Tis ordered the said paper be read again this day week in the Morning Meeting and be recorded in this book." [This apparently was not done.]

In the same year there is another interesting minute. The 19th of 5mo., 1697:—

"This meeting being under a sense of the need there is that some method be considered that the Country Meetings that are at a small distance be duly supplied, and the First-day Morning Meeting observed about or before the 8th hour, as general as may be, by the Friends then in town, that Friends may have opportunity to dispose themselves to the most service of Truth, both in City and County. Whereupon it was proposed as a conveniency for the well supply of the Country Meetings that the Friends of this meeting might be half-an-hour together at the end of the Meeting for Sufferings, whereby Friends might understand each other's minds more fully. The further consideration hereof and well settling of somewhat in this matter is further referred."

It will be remembered that there was at this time no formal system for the "recording" or "acknowledging" of Ministers.* The object of recording was largely effected in an incidental,

* See pp. 253*n*., 257*n*.

and almost automatic way. The giving of a certificate to a travelling preacher by his Monthly Meeting, and the entering of the names upon the "First-day Morning Books" in London and Bristol constituted virtual recognition. As was inevitable, difficulties arose with reference to the right of persons to put down their names in these books, many indications of which can be traced in the old minute books. Whilst the Morning Meeting evidently kept a tight hand over the proceedings of its members, and was especially strict as respects the women preachers,* the principle appears to have been maintained that the Monthly Meeting was the body which ultimately determined whether a Friend was at liberty to preach or not. Persistence in doing so contrary to its judgment involved the liability to disownment. Considerable sums of money were paid to constables for excluding persons from Friends' meetings in London, who went there intending to speak when forbidden by their Monthly Meetings. In the later years of the reign of George I., the Morning Meeting appears to have taken more authority upon itself in determining its membership than was approved by the Yearly Meeting, which in 1723 ruled :—

"It is the unanimous agreement of this meeting that it does not belong to the Morning Meeting, or any other meeting of ministers, to disown any minister or other person, but that the sole right of so doing belongs to Monthly, Quarterly, and Half-yearly or Yearly Meetings. And that no person's name from and after the 8th day of seventh month next be entered in the Morning Meeting Book of Ministering Friends as a minister, till he or she produces a certificate from the Monthly or Quarterly Meeting to which he or she shall belong."†

* At a Second Day's Morning Meeting the 10th $\frac{1}{\text{mo.}}$ 1700.

"This meeting finding that it is a hurt to Truth for women Friends to take up too much time as some do in our public meetings, when several public and serviceable men Friends are present, and are by them prevented in their services. It's therefore advised that the women Friends should be tenderly cautioned against taking up so much time in our mixed public meetings. Benjamin Bealing to give a copy of this minute to Sarah Plumley and Margt. Munro, for them to communicate to other women Friends, and that it may be prevented for the future."

† See *Journal Friends' Historical Society*, i. 22, for account of William Gibson, who made the appeal which resulted in the Yearly Meeting's decision, just quoted.—[EDITOR.]

We have devoted some space to these details of ancient arrangements for the distribution of the Ministry, believing that readers will not have found them tedious. The main facts have been before published, but there is an aroma about the original records that is lost in a summary of their contents. They are pregnant with suggestion, and that not alone in their denominational aspect. The population of London was about half-a-million at the close of the seventeenth century. What a notable factor in its religious life must the ten or twelve Friend congregations have been, with their band of preachers suitably distributed amongst them every Sunday, thus securing frequent variety and change in the Ministry! It helps the reader of Leslie's *Snake in the Grass* to understand the note of alarm which runs through its malevolent pages. And how interestingly do these Friend Ministers' plans of the Stuart and Hanoverian era antedate the Methodist plans which now cover so large a part of England and Wales! It is sometimes implied, if not said, that it exhibits some lack of spirituality for a Friend to allow his name to be put down on a plan to attend a certain meeting at an appointed hour. Evidently this was not felt by George Whitehead, William Penn, Ambrose Rigg, and Samuel Bownas; and if they were not conscious of it, we may well suspect the validity of our scruple. It is urged that to plan out the location of Ministers on a future day is to interfere with the disposal of them by the Holy Ghost. But is this really the case? The wording of the minute of 1723, which speaks of the dispersing of Ministers "according to their concern or freedom," is significant. Probably in nine cases out of ten, a Minister has no special drawing to one meeting above another—he has a freedom to go where his friends think him the most wanted. In the case of his having a "concern" for one meeting, way would be made for his giving effect to such an apprehension of duty.

The difficulties which were felt, five or six generations ago, in determining who were the Public Friends entitled to enter their names on the First-day Meeting Books have their significance in relation to the existing arrangements for the Recording

of Ministers. It is easy to criticise these arrangements: their actual working is often awkward and capricious. But the gist of the question is:—What better plan can be substituted for them? The religious meetings of the Society of Friends are almost the only examples of congregational worship remaining, where the apostolic liberty, "Ye may all prophesy," is still the rule. This fact points to propensities in human nature which make it extremely difficult to maintain the "liberty of prophesying," but liberty is worth so much that its price must not be grudged. There must somewhere be an authority which shall determine whether a person is called to be a preacher or not. That individual judgment is liable to be greatly mistaken has been continually illustrated throughout the history of Friends. Many men carry within their breasts something of the spirit of the Papacy; hence we see that the highest claims to spiritual guidance are often associated with a stubborn indisposition to accept the judgment of wiser and more experienced men. In lands where there is no statute law in force, lynch law grows up. And as it is in States, so it is in the denominations as respects their Ministry. My readers will generally concur in the position that the congregation where a preacher resides, or the group of congregations, that is, the Monthly Meeting, must ultimately determine whether he has a valid call to the Ministry or not. If this could be done in a way more simple, and by a machinery that worked more easily than that now in vogue, it would be a satisfaction to many, and might be a cause of strength to the Church. The experience of the eighteenth century, however, assures us that the earlier methods were not unattended by grave difficulties; and it would, we believe, be easy now to make changes which would weaken the Society in a direction where it is already weak. Whilst Friends have been eminently successful in promoting the growth of individual characters of much strength and distinctive excellence, their organisation has been and is weak for aggressive evangelistic work, and even for perpetuating their own polity. This side of their history has been a commentary on the proverb, "What is everybody's business is

nobody's business." Hence we view with some apprehension proposals which tend to make less definite the responsibilities of the Christian Minister in the Society of Friends. We believe, on the other hand, that most of our Ministers would find their Ministry promoted, directly or indirectly, by having more frequently to occupy assigned posts of service. Israel was not happy in the days when every man did that which was right in his own eyes. And so it is in the spiritual Israel now. We need to recognise as a spiritual endowment the faculty for organisation. No people illustrate this better than Friends themselves, outside their meeting houses. In the walks of philanthropy, in the service of Bible, Peace, Anti-Slavery, Total Abstinence, Howard or Arbitration Societies we place definite duties upon certain persons, and hold them responsible for their due discharge. We believe a similar feeling towards the Society of Friends itself was far stronger amongst the preachers in the reign of Queen Anne than in that of Queen Victoria, and that it must exist in every organisation that accomplishes much real work. When Wesley and Whitefield were evangelising England, the latter appeared to be the greater prophet of the two ; but his work has been ephemeral compared with that of his friend. John Wesley organised his adherents, and his influence grows in volume daily. Through his classes and his system of local preachers, he being dead still speaketh. In former times, sermons exhorting Friends to faithfulness sometimes wound up with the declaration that if these counsels were accepted and acted upon, "the Church would arise fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." When these poetical words of the Canticles have fallen on our ears, have we reflected on their central thought, that in the army of the Prince of Peace both the soldiers and the officers must occupy their appointed places ? Here lies the great difference between an undisciplined horde, and a disciplined army.

We must now hasten on to the other branch of our subject : the provision for defraying the expenses of the Ministry.

Whilst the general care of the meetings for worship in London, and the arrangements for the distribution of the Ministry were,

two centuries ago, vested in the Morning Meeting, the duty of defraying expenses of Ministers devolved upon the "Six Weeks Meeting."

"The wants of country ministers, labouring in or passing through London were carefully attended to during their stay in town; sums of money for their benefit being handed to certain Friends by the Meeting of Twelve, [a sub-committee of the Six Weeks Meeting] 'without requiring an account.'"*

A great deal of space in the early minute books is occupied with business relating to the horses of travelling Friends. In those days Friends kept a number of the London inns, at which the horses stopped, whilst the riders were usually entertained at private houses. After the establishment of the Friends' Workhouse, in Clerkenwell, the stables of that institution were used for the horses of Ministers. In 1706 there is a record of a gift of a horse, saddle, and bridle, together with £10, for the keep of the horse for the use of Public Friends. Two years later the bills for horse-keep seem to have amounted to about £90 a year. In 1713 there is an entry of £6 spent in buying a mare for the use of Ministers.

From several causes the provision for the payment of expenses in connection with ministerial service has not latterly received the attention which it did in former times, and which it deserves. The decline in the number of ministerial visits has allowed the machinery which provided for the payment of their expenses, to grow rusty. Evidence to this effect reaches one on all hands.† Friends have not yet quite realised the alteration which the spread of the railway system has brought about. Formerly, the travelling Minister set out on horse-back, and was absent for weeks, or even

* *London Friends' Meetings*, 126.

† It was recently remarked to the writer, by one who had travelled in the service of truth, "In some meetings the Friends do not even think of the matter of expenses." Whilst this paper has been in course of preparation, a Friend thankfully reported the favoured time he had enjoyed in having accepted an invitation to a large and wealthy meeting, but added, "As nothing was said about my expenses, my means will not allow of my accepting many such invitations." A correspondent in a distant part of England writes, "There is one meeting of well-to-do Friends which, at their invitation, I have repeatedly visited, each time costing me 3s. 6d. or

months, passing from one place to another, lodging at one Friend's house after another, and little, or no expenditure was involved beyond that of provision for himself and his horse.

The Yearly Meeting has laid down with sufficient clearness the general principle which should regulate the arrangements for the payment of expenses.‡

It is, we believe, the best plan for the travelling expenses of *all* labourers to be defrayed by the Society, and that those whose circumstances allow of it shall, if so disposed, return their expenses by way of subscriptions. There is something invidious and even discouraging where the expenses of fellow labourers are defrayed by the Society in one case and not in the other. The area providing the funds for these expenses should be sufficiently large. Some meetings are too poor to bear any expenses of the character referred to. Perhaps in most cases a Quarterly Meeting fund, with local correspondents for making the required disbursements, would prove the most convenient arrangement.

Much observation has led the writer to see how large an influence this matter of expenses has in determining the extent and direction of Christian service. There are one or two special temptations connected with it against which Friends require to be on their guard. One is a distorted idea that what is called the "freedom of Gospel Ministry" is promoted by not paying travelling expenses. We believe this is an entire mistake, and that there is in reality a great democratic principle involved in securing for the Church the services of all its members, irrespective of any qualification through the possession of property or otherwise. Again, there is always

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more. Not once has a farthing been offered me, nor, of course, have I ever asked. I pay willingly, but for all that, it is not right! To more than a few, I believe, such demands are prohibitive of service." As Treasurer to York M. M., the writer has lately made a payment, through the Recording Clerk in London, for expenses of an American visitor, not defrayed when in this district; one, it was understood, of numerous omissions of the same character.

‡ *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, ii. 25.

in connection with this subject the liability to the presence of selfish motives. It was the complaint of William Rogers and some dissentient Friends in the seventeenth century, that they were called upon to subscribe as much for "the service of Truth," as they paid in tithes before they were Friends.* In our own time, it has, we believe, sometimes been urged in favour of the Friends' denomination, that it was the cheapest. This is surely a most unworthy position to assume, and indeed one that is not true. When "the people called Quakers" arose in the days of the Commonwealth, and organised themselves as a Christian community, they had before them the ideal of a Society, all the members of which should be priests, and in which, therefore, there would be no place for a sacerdotal order. But, as has before been shown, they aspired to be a Society founded on Scriptural principles—illustrating "primitive Christianity revived," in William Penn's phrase—and they recognised that there would be office-bearers, persons possessing differing spiritual gifts, and bearing different names. The possessors of these gifts were, by virtue of their spiritual endowment, under the strongest obligation to occupy therewith, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. This necessarily involved large sacrifices of time, money, position and inclination. A faith demanding personal consecration, and protesting against the endeavour to do the service of God by proxy, cannot be worthily held by the covetous or the self-seeking.

It will probably be said by some who read these pages, that the Society of Friends is now poor in men, able and willing to devote themselves to the service of God's people. This may be so—but what is the remedy? For the Church to ask "the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest." If the asking be sincere, it will carry with it the willingness to go if sent, and to promote the service of others. How remarkably has this prayer been answered in the last thirty years as respects the Foreign Mission field! Queen Victoria had ruled for half of her memorable reign before the Society of Friends had done

* See p. 161.

anything to speak of in the work of Foreign Missions. To day there are very few denominations which, in proportion to their numbers, are doing more, either in the amount of their contributions, or the number of their labourers. With so remarkable an illustration wrought before our eyes of the faithfulness of God in owning prayer and blessing the use of fitting methods for promoting the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom abroad, why should we doubt His care for the needs of the Church at home? We do not want to fall into the error of the political or ecclesiastical wire-puller, who makes machinery his fetish. But whilst a Church requires the inspiration of true ideals and the support of fixed principles, she also needs the faculty of practically interpreting these ideals, and applying these principles so as to meet the spiritual needs of men.

CHAPTER VII.

CONDITIONS OF CONGREGATIONAL GROWTH.*

THE most conspicuous want of success on the part of the Society of Friends has been its inability to sustain its numerical position in the world, and on any large scale to perpetuate its ecclesiastical polity. This fact can hardly be separated from those subordinate heads brought before us in the minute of the Yearly Meeting :—

(1) The popular misunderstanding of the faith and practices of Friends.

(2) Their imperfect success in securing the loyal adhesion of their younger members.

On the first point it may be remarked that "the ignorance and misconception in the public mind" respecting the Society of Friends, however much such misconception now exists, is distinctly less than it was in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to understand the then wide-spread belief that the Friends were Jesuits in disguise. It is hardly less surprising to see how utterly John Bunyan, Joseph Alleine, Richard Baxter, and Roger Williams misunderstood and misjudged their Quaker contemporaries. It is only fair to add that the Friends almost equally failed to do justice to the saintly authors of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Alarm to the Unconverted*, and *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. It is apparently inevitable that an essentially spiritual conception of the kingdom of Christ must be less

* Portions of a paper on *The Problem before the Manchester Conference, with some Suggestions for its Solution*, published in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1896. The Conference was called by Minute of the Yearly Meeting, 25 v. 1895. Its report was presented and minuted, 22 v. 1896.

capable of explanation than are systems, largely dogmatic and ceremonial, which can be set forth in articles and catechisms. The unseen must always be more difficult to describe than the seen. There can, however, we think, be no doubt that nothing would so effectually remove that misconception respecting the faith and practice of Friends, which they deplore, as practical illustrations of the success of their polity in ministering to the spiritual needs and moulding the characters of any considerable population. This is just what the Society has failed to do.

When the Toleration Bill passed into law some forty years after the rise of Friends, they were as numerous in Great Britain and Ireland as were the Methodists at the death of John Wesley. But here the numerical similarity ceases. The Methodist denomination has multiplied from thousands to millions, whilst the sixty or seventy thousand Friends have diminished to little more than one third of their former strength. When William and Mary ascended the throne, the Friends must have constituted some seven or eight per cent. of the population; now the proportion could only be expressed in an insignificant decima fraction. Nor are the numerical facts more cheerful in other parts of the world. Friends exhibit many tokens of vitality in the United States, and have girdled the American continent with a chain of Yearly Meetings from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but their numerical strength in relation to the whole population of that vast republic is very inconsiderable.*

Now what explanation is to be given of these facts—great success attained in some directions, failure no less conspicuous in others? Appreciative Anglican writers, like Hancock, Westcott and Curteis virtually say that failure was inevitable, because the truths to which they admit Friends had to testify

* Questions having been asked, and statements made, sometimes inaccurate, respecting the number of persons professing with Friends at different periods, it may be convenient here to give a few of the principal facts. The question of the numerical strength of Friends in this country two centuries ago has been investigated by several independent inquirers. Whilst there is some difference in their conclusions, all, I believe, unite in the opinion that the figure—100,000,—first given in *The Snake in the Grass* [1697], and still frequently repeated, is decidedly too large. In 1859, the present writer estimated the number at 66,000, in a population

should have been witnessed to within and not without the pale of the national Church. The arguments of these writers deserve careful attention, but their fundamental position is traversed by facts, and the policy advocated was, in practice, impossible in the seventeenth century. It is impossible now. Nor does there appear any fundamental reason differentiating the Friends from the Methodists, and accounting for the diminution of one body and the growth of the other. We may be helped to a truer answer by considering the state of feeling prevailing in the Society when its organisation was virtually established, at the date of the passing of the Toleration Act.

(1) Within two years of that event George Fox was removed by death, nearly all his early coadjutors having previously passed away. Marvellous as was the work which they had accomplished, it was now manifest that their early sanguine hopes of a vast moral and religious reformation being wrought throughout Christendom as the result of their preaching remained unrealised. The primary aim of that preaching had been to bring men immediately and individually to God. It expressed with "the greatest force and exclusiveness the new thought of the Reformation, the thought of individuality."†

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of about 8,500,000. The late William Thistlethwaite, with the same facts before him, thought this figure too large. No fresh data of importance have come to light in the last thirty-seven years. Reviewing the whole subject, I now should be disposed somewhat to diminish my former estimate.

In the present (nineteenth) century the number of Friends in the United Kingdom reached its lowest point in 1864. The figures in that year, and in 1895, were as follows :—

	Great Britain.		Ireland.		
	Members.	Attenders.	Members.	Attenders.	Total.
1864	13,755	3,609	2,851	715	20,930
1895	16,412	6,530	2,603	511	26,056
[1906	18,677	7,465	2,521	402	29,065]

The American Yearly Meetings do not publish the number of their attenders. The number of their members, as given in *The Friend*, 1895, p. 8, is about 88,000. [In 1906, about 98,000.] This figure does not include the Hicksite branch, nor several smaller communities.

[For purposes of comparison the figures for 1906 have been added. "Attenders" are non-members who habitually attend a Friends' Meeting for Worship.—Editor.]

† Westcott's *Social Aspects of Christianity*, 123.

(2) George Fox had come to see more and more clearly as years had passed that this individuality, inestimably valuable as it was, must not be so pressed as to isolate the Christian man from the helps and the restraints of association with his fellows. Some rude reminders of the dangers of this policy were taken by him deeply to heart. But the great opposition he experienced in establishing provision for the maintenance of order and government in the Society, disclosed the presence of a widely existing bias towards an inadequate appreciation of the place assigned to human effort, for advancing and maintaining the kingdom of Christ. This bias, perhaps an inevitable accompaniment of a highly spiritual faith, allied itself, as years passed, with a too fatal facility to the love of ease and the love of money, two of the strongest besetments of human nature.

(3) The Wilkinson and Story secession, whilst it had failed in its immediate object—the overthrow of the Church meetings—had given a rough shock to the Society. Many of the seceders were welcomed back to their brethren, perhaps too warmly, and reintroduced that element of Ranterism which Stephen Crisp and his colleagues had recognised as so paralysing to active religious life.*

(4) The dreadful persecution of the thirty years preceding the Toleration Act had very naturally bequeathed a great dread of its recurrence, thus inducing a certain timidity of action, and an almost nervous apprehension, on the part of the leaders amongst the Friends, of any proceeding which should afford a pretext to the Government for withdrawing their much-prized liberty.

(5) Very imperfect provision existed for the education of the rising generation.

(6) The strength of character evoked by the individuality of their religious faith, and their business integrity, were making the Friends wealthy.

We believe that this chain of influences, whilst since modified in some directions, has continued to operate, and that it is

* See chapter ii.

intimately related to the phenomena which led to the convening of the Manchester Conference.

To recur again to the struggle for the establishment of the system of Church government, 1670-90, Robert Barclay saw very clearly that there were two principles that had to be maintained in that controversy, and that these two principles were correlative. "There be two things especially," he says, "both of which in their primitive use were appointed; and did very much contribute towards the edification of the Church:—(1) The power and authority which the Apostles had given them of Christ for the gathering, building up, and governing of his Church . . .; (2) The other is that privilege given to every Christian under the Gospel to be led and guided by the Spirit of Christ, and to be taught thereof in all things."* The first of these positions was the one so stoutly challenged by the opponents of the disciplinary meetings, and no part of it more strenuously than that referring to Church government. Hence, when, after a conflict which called forth more than a hundred publications, the maintenance of the disciplinary system had been secured, it came to be thought of rather as a system for Church government than for Church building, *i.e.*, for edification. Hence the Friends' Church meetings developed throughout the eighteenth century in quite a different direction from the class system of John Wesley, which has proved itself so remarkable an instrument for edification. This idea of government, in association with their Church meetings, predisposed Friends to try to attain religious and spiritual ends by rule and discipline, rather than by persuasion and the careful instruction of the understanding. The application of disownment for marriage contrary to the usages of the Society is the most prominent amongst many illustrations of this tendency, adhered to through generations with disastrous consequences.

The great want of the Society in the days succeeding the Revolution of 1688 was, in reality, "the gathering and building up" which Robert Barclay had spoken of in the passage before

* Preface to *The Anarchy of the Ranters*, written 1674.

quoted. If the duty of edification, as their primary work, had been more impressed upon Monthly and Quarterly Meetings and had been followed out by them, the history of the Society might have been greatly different from that which it has been. When the Society arose in the time of the Commonwealth, it was in strenuous antagonism to the existing religious organisations of the country. But after the passing of the Toleration Act, it became one of a number of voluntary self-governing religious societies, recognised by the State as entitled to its protection. The most effectual presentation of spiritual truth it could then have made would have been—(1) in the holy lives of its members; and (2) by demonstrating in practice that a Society without a clergy, and without ceremonial rites, could perpetuate itself, and could supply to its members those spiritual helps which are the first objects of religious fellowship. The first of these presentations has never ceased from the days of the Commonwealth to the present time. The latter was an enterprise since proved by experience to have been one of enormous difficulty in view of the weakness of human nature. The same influences which led to the growth of sacerdotalism in the early Christian Church are constantly reasserting themselves and paralysing spiritual energy.* If through idleness, or any other cause, a community neglects the work of edification, the religious instincts of men will seek satisfaction in the ministrations of a sacerdotal caste, with a consequent diminution of the sense of personal responsibility, or those instincts will remain unsatisfied, the spiritual life will burn low and the Church will decay. We think the Manchester Conference would have been helped if this view had been more pointedly placed before it, and that it is in this direction that an answer would have been found to the two questions suggested by the minute convening it:—Why are Friends so misunderstood by the public; and why are they not more successful in securing the loyal adhesion of their young people? It is obvious that on the answers given to these questions must largely depend the measures required for

* See Stoughton's *Ages of Christendom*, 104, 105.

removing the weakness which is deplored. There was nothing, however, in the findings of the Conference adverse to the position we have endeavoured to indicate. . . .

Much admirable counsel was given at Manchester as to the use of the press by Friends in putting before the public their conception of Christian truth and practice, but nothing could be so convincing as to its fitness for meeting the needs of the people as a practical illustration, on a sufficiently large scale. The Adult School work of Friends in Birmingham, in the past half-century, is an object-lesson in this direction of quite incalculable value. So in another department is the uprising and growth of their Foreign Mission work.

It may thankfully be believed that hundreds of persons left the Conference with hearts warmed with renewed love to the Lord Jesus Christ, to His work and people, and with increased willingness to dedicate themselves to His service. "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?" may be the question that arises from some of these hearts; and as a part of the answer to this inquiry of Saul of Tarsus came formerly through a very humble disciple, it is possible that some hint towards an answer may now be conveyed in these pages. It has often seemed to the present writer that the Society of Friends would be much helped if more of its members carefully considered the objects of all Church organisation in the light of New Testament teaching. Subsequent inquiry might be, how far are these objects subserved by the congregation to which the individual belongs? If imperfectly, what duty devolves upon the inquirer, for better carrying out those purposes for which spiritual gifts are bestowed —"the perfecting of the saints, unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the body of Christ."* In this connection we need a more general recognition that the power to adapt means to ends is a talent of signal value for the needs of a Church, as was long ago enforced by the evangelical prophet: "This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, which is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in effectual working."† The history

* Ephesians iv. 12. † Isaiah xxviii. 29.

of Friends through two centuries often impresses the student with their ineptitude in this direction, as regards their Society work and arrangements ; a feature which is sometimes in striking contrast to the skill and resourcefulness shown in the conduct of their own businesses, and also in the direction of philanthropic and political organisations in which they may be interested. To the neglect of edification in the eighteenth century is attributable much of declension and loss of power. The history of Friends strikingly illustrates the excellence of that teaching of Christ's which the author of *Ecce Homo* calls the law of philanthropy. It is believed that the same history illustrates as strikingly the consequences of the neglect of another law—that of edification ; and not only of its neglect, but also of its merely partial observance. The experience of the Church has shown that the Christian education of children is one of the most potent means at its disposal for edifying. For about a century, London Yearly Meeting, by letter again and again repeated, enforced on its members their educational obligations towards their children. These exhortations were like a voice crying in the wilderness. Not until the establishment of Ackworth School, by Dr. John Fothergill, did any one arise capable of adapting appropriate means to the greatly desired end of the education of Friends' children. Now, for more than a century, the way pointed out by Dr. Fothergill has been followed with constantly increasing blessing and success. This chapter in the history of Friends is extremely suggestive. The signal success which has attended work within one department of the administration of edification promises well for the effort to extend its sphere. Great difficulties will undoubtedly present ; but difficulties exist to be overcome. The history of education in the Society and the history of its Foreign Mission work both show that qualified human instruments are the prime agents for carrying out the Divine purposes. Children were not taught till there were schools, and schools were badly officered till there were trained teachers. Friends had no foreign missionaries till they provided the means for sending those whom God might call, and till they

asked Him to raise up and qualify servants for this department of the harvest field.

Analogously, edification implies an edifier ; the act of building requires builders. This introduces a consideration of supreme moment : Where are the builders of the Society to be found ? The conditions of their work will, substantially, be the same as those which have attached to Gospel labour in all times. The realised mercies of God constrain to reasonable service, and His Spirit consecrates the self-sacrifice and cross-bearing which it involves. If the same spirit which animated John Woolman were to inspire many of those who read or hear his often quoted words, blessed results would ensue, although it is neither to be expected nor desired that any one shall follow precisely in his footsteps. The rites of canonisation are not always discriminating, and a word of caution may be timely in respect to some of the acts of one, who, though he walked so closely with his Lord, was after all a man of like passions with his brethren. But the point we want to emphasise is this—that the Christian labourer in the department of edification, if his work is to be lasting, must do it in the spirit of the Master and of His followers. Just as much grace may be needed for work within the enclosure of a Christian society in Great Britain or the United States, as amongst the heathen of Madagascar or of China. Loneliness in service may be as acutely felt in London as in any pagan city ; quite as much self-denial may be called for in the work of the Society of Friends at home, as in any part of the Foreign Mission field. One of the true teachings listened to at Manchester was that Christ's disciples have to learn to endure the contradictions of saints as well as those of sinners. Whence then shall come the labourers for the edification of the Church at home ? "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into his harvest" is a Divinely taught supplication, which brings its answer when raised in persistent faith.

These may seem almost elementary positions ; they are in reality very far-reaching. The Foreign Mission field has again

and again proved itself the teacher of the home Churches. It may be so now to us. We see men and women giving up many of the luxuries and enjoyments of life in Europe, deliberately remaining poor as to the things of earth, in order that they may fulfil their ministry among the heathen. Surrender of the same character is demanded from home labourers. Some men and women must be willing to give diligent work in England or in Ireland for the Lord, in association with the religious body to which they belong, and to remain poor, as to earthly possessions, in consequence. Some will have to renounce positions of influence in literary, scientific or civil society, in order that they may do the work of an evangelist or an edifier. It will have to be with them as it was with the Apostle, "What things were gain to me, these have I counted loss for Christ." Were this spirit of willingness more prevalent, the proceedings of our Church meetings would not so frequently illustrate the scene in the parable, "they all with one consent began to make excuse." "The restraints of the Spirit of Truth" would so circumscribe the business engagements of men, and the social duties of women, that they would not only have time, but also "hearts at leisure from themselves" for doing the Church's work. If we read aright the conditions of discipleship, its terms are not capable of repeal or of essential modification; and yet, though they be on the old lines of "No cross, no crown," it is no less true that the work of the Lord continues to be "honourable and glorious." . . .

The opposition sometimes supposed to exist between principles and methods calls for remark. It has been a commonplace for speakers occupying very different standpoints to magnify principles and to depreciate methods. The evangelist glowing with love to Christ is apt to undervalue all methods not directly related to the conversion of sinners. The spiritually-minded worshipper, rejoicing in the sense of the preciousness of immediate communion with God, is liable to depreciate the accessories of public worship as unimportant. It was, in effect, said at the Conference that "methods, modes of worship, and

all questions of organisation and arrangement would largely take care of themselves" if a certain principle were universally accepted. A little reflection will shew that there is some confusion of thought in thus placing principles and methods in opposition to one another. A principle may be good, and a method may be good, or a principle may be bad, and a method may be bad, but they occupy different spheres and cannot be compared one with the other. Light is good, and the exquisite organism of the eye by which the brain becomes sensible of the presence of light is good too. In a sense, light is greater than vision, but we instinctively feel that one is not to be pitted against the other, and that both attest the infinite wisdom of the Creator. The prophet Isaiah does not hesitate to ascribe to God the skill of the husbandman, which comes as the result of long observation and knowledge of the laws of the vegetable world: "His God doth instruct him aright, and doth teach him."* The principle here recognised by the prophet has a far wider application than to the work of the farmer alone. It includes that of the mariner and of the inventor. It holds good in the spiritual as in the natural world. . The principle or duty of edification as one of the main functions of the Church was insisted upon with great force by the Apostles. We have seen that it was by long experience, and through many mistakes, that the Church discovered that the education of the young was one of its most powerful instruments for edification. It was his insight into the needs of children, and his power of providing for those needs, which enabled Robert Raikes, a century ago, to establish the Sunday School system which has had such beneficent results for the children of Great Britain. It was the energy and determination of Dr. Fothergill in founding Ackworth School which enabled the fourth generation of Friends to secure for their children that which the second and third generations had desired, but had not seen how to obtain. It was the spiritual perception of George Fox which enabled him to erect that system of Church government which has existed for more than two centuries, and which, notwithstanding all its defects in

* Isaiah xxviii. 26.

administration, has had so ennobling an influence upon seven generations of men and women. If we insist, even at the risk of iteration, on this relationship of principles and of methods, it is from the conviction that it lies very near to the kernel of the problem which confronts the Society of Friends. We need to dismiss the idea that we magnify a principle by depreciating a method, and to enlarge our conceptions of the offices of the Holy Spirit, so as to think of Him as the Author of organisation and of order as well as of liberty. Whilst the Christian disciple seeks to acquire a firm grasp of the principles of the Divine government, he will at the same time be a careful observer of the methods of the Divine procedure in the practical application of these principles. The apostolic prayer for the Philippians was that they might "abound yet more and more in knowledge and all discernment, so that they might approve the things that are excellent." The counterpart to the error of the Hebrew people in "limiting the Holy One of Israel"—thinking that His manner of working must be within the range of their finite ideas—has shown itself again and again in the experience of the Christian Church.

The Manchester Conference was itself a remarkable object-lesson of the truth of the position upon which we have been insisting. To what shall we attribute the spiritual and moral power which characterised the Conference? Firstly and chiefly, we should say, to the spiritual exercise of those present, as well as of many who were absent, expressing itself in much prayer, both before and during the sessions of the Conference. But it is not difficult to discover a number of minor and concurring causes, largely under human control, which worked towards the same end. The right place of methods in relation to dynamic forces was luminously illustrated in the electrical lighting of the meeting house in Mount Street. It is very easy to conceive a person saying, "The electrical light is so bright and shining a thing, we need not trouble about the details of the induction, let us rely upon the electrical energy itself to do its own work, and leave methods to take care of themselves." The result of this policy would have been—darkness! Whereas the result of the right

adaptation of means, the fixing of wires, insulators, switches and lamps, and all the other details for controlling and utilising the electric currents was—light. The correspondences to these things, as respects the Conference, were the manifold arrangements made by those who had organised its work. It would be easy to make a long catalogue of these ; for brevity's sake we will enumerate but seven:—

(1) The trouble which overtook Eutychus at Troas was obviated by the maintenance in the meeting house of an adequate supply of oxygen, secured by the changing of the air between the sessions, and by the economy in its consumption resulting from the use of the electric light.

(2) The meeting house was comfortably warmed. If this had not been done, people would have been thinking of their cold feet, instead of giving their minds to the papers which were read.

(3) The efficient provision made by the local organisers for securing sleeping accommodation for their guests made it easy for these to attend under conditions of bodily refreshment, favourable for allowing the mind and heart to address themselves to the weighty matters submitted for consideration.

(4) The Conference at each session knew at the outset the business before it. It was not constituted like the notorious meeting at Ephesus, where " the more part knew not wherefore they had come together."

(5) Anxiety to obtain seats secured great punctuality in the assembling of the meetings. When a session of the Yearly Meeting is opened, not infrequently the attendance is only about thirty per cent. of what it is an hour later. At Manchester, when the hour for business was reached, the company was already waiting, ready at once to enter upon it.

(6) The same cause as that just mentioned, in combination with admirable door-keeping, promoted the sitting of Friends near to one another. To a large extent also, they sat in a natural way—husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, together.

(7) It will thus be observed that at least two of the human conditions which preceded the Day of Pentecost were present at

Manchester, "They were all together in one place." The morning devotional gathering supplied a third link in the chain of resemblance to the attitude of the disciples, waiting in Jerusalem for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, "who," says Luke, "with one accord continued steadfastly in prayer."

In 1696, William Penn published his "*Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers.*" The beautiful thought present in this title is one which has been cherished by Friends throughout their history. Their desire has been practically to exemplify in a human society that spiritual conception of the kingdom of Christ, which is believed to be of the very essence of Primitive Christianity.

Dr. Lightfoot's conception of the character of the kingdom of Christ* is substantially that which commended itself to William Penn and his colleagues two centuries ago. We apprehend the London Yearly Meeting of 1696 would have adopted it as its own, and that in 1896 every Yearly Meeting of Friends in the world would willingly express its unity therewith. How then does it come about that the Anglican Church, in which Dr. Lightfoot was a bishop, exhibits so little resemblance to the ideal he depicted? and how is it that the Friends' attempt to embody the same ideal in their polity has been attended with such imperfect success? With the first question we have but little concern here. Dr. Lightfoot went on so far to modify that which he had written, as to say it must be regarded simply as an ideal, and he apparently deemed it impossible of translation into practice without undergoing such a change as practically

* "The kingdom of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. It displays this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek admission, irrespective of race or caste or sex, but also in the instruction and treatment of those who are already its members. It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all it has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength." —*St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 4th edtn., 181.

almost to destroy the ideal. He also admitted that for many centuries this conception of the Church of Christ was virtually lost.*

When so much of failure has attended the efforts of saintly men in the past, it cannot but be felt that humility, and even diffidence, befit us in our attempts to decipher the lessons of Church history, and to obtain from them guidance for our present day wants. It also lessens our surprise that Friends have not been more successful in working out their Church life, in harmony with the beautiful picture which floated before their spiritual vision. It is obvious that the same causes, deeply seated in human nature, which for long prevented the Apostles of Christ from grasping the essential characteristics of their Master's kingdom and which subsequently obscured those characteristics from the vision of the early Christians, are always in operation, to mar the earthly exemplification of the heavenly ideal. The growth of the sacerdotal system and all the corruptions of priestcraft sprang in the first instance from the neglect of their priestly functions by the great body of professedly Christian people.

From causes which have been already indicated, the strength of Friends has never been adequately put forth towards the development of an active, congregational, spiritual life. A Christian Church was to be a home, a spiritual household, in which the spiritual needs, instincts, and aspirations of its inmates were to be met and satisfied. Experience has shown that bodily and intellectual health and growth are dependent on the observance of law. So is the spiritual health of individuals and communities. The investigation of the conditions of congregational spiritual health would furnish Friends with a fruitful field of research. And though this may be somewhat foreign to the bias of their thoughts, if convinced of its importance they would, we believe, address themselves to it—as, when convinced of the supreme moment of education, or of the obligation to carry the Gospel to the heathen, they surmounted the influences which before had

* Lightfoot's *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 268.

paralysed action, and entered on these paths of Christian duty with zeal and progressive success. We believe that, almost unconsciously, there has already come to Friends in some districts an enlarged understanding of the conditions of spiritual health, both for communities and individuals. The compatibility of maintaining the unity of the Spirit, along with very considerable latitude of doctrinal belief, and of large diversity of practice in conduct, is increasingly recognised. These things are now seen to be often the tokens of life, whilst uniformity may be the mark of torpor, if not of death.

It will probably be increasingly recognised that variety in the character and conduct of their religious meetings is called for, in any considerable community of Friends. Different mental constitutions and different states of spiritual experience demand different classes of meetings. In the foundation of the Society, "thrashing meetings" for the populace, "retired meetings" for the convinced, had each their appropriate place. Meetings compulsorily silent seem to be on a somewhat un-Friendly basis, but at one period met a requirement of Friends in Bristol. At the present time experience indicates that there is a place for meetings for waiting upon God, on a basis of silence, with a waiting worship and a waiting ministry; others more distinctively for the exercise of the gift of teaching, affording opportunities for Scripture-reading and various modes of instructing the understanding, as well as for appealing to the heart, and for united prayer and praise. Every meeting that does not violate a clear Scriptural principle should be accounted as on "Friends' lines."

In connection with the right place of praise, it must, we think, be increasingly felt that no Christian community can afford to neglect the enormous influence of hymnody and congregational singing. The determination of the Apostle to sing with the spirit and with the understanding also,* and the connection insisted on to the Colossians† between the rich indwelling of the word of Christ, and singing with grace in their hearts to the Lord,

* 1 Cor. xiv. 15. † Col. iii. 16.

are not altogether easy to exemplify in practice. The first two generations of Friends again and again faced the question, what part singing should occupy in a congregational worship where the dominating thought was that it must be in spirit and in truth. The Yearly Meeting of 1675 recorded its "living sense . . . that there hath been and is serious sighing, sensible groaning and reverent singing, breathing forth an heavenly sound of joy with grace with the Spirit and with understanding, which is not to be quenched or discouraged . . . unless immoderate,"—but in practice the placing of singing upon the same basis as preaching and vocal prayer was found to be attended with much difficulty, and as a result an almost total abstinence from congregational singing prevailed for some generations. That which appears to be required at the present time is that some who possess a gift in the service of song, as well as an apprehension of the supreme requirements of spirituality and truthfulness in worship, should address themselves to the question how all these elements can in practice be combined. There must be a way of combining them. The love of song and the power of singing cannot have been given without a purpose. In the Church, as in the State, the man who writes its songs exercises a greater power than he who makes its laws. To attempt to dispense with this enormous power for influencing conduct, and fashioning character, cannot be wise, and must end in disappointment. . .*†

A saying attributed to William Penn that a Christian should make it a matter of conscience to see that his country is well governed has often been quoted. The spirit of the words applies, with yet greater force, to the obligation which rests upon a Christian to see that the religious Society to which he belongs is efficiently administered, because personal influence is more direct and tells for more in a religious community than it commonly can in the affairs of a great nation. In this connection, the

* See pp. 152-154.

† Here follows some reference to the two important subjects of the suitable distribution of Christian workers, and the obligation which exists that the requirements of Christian labourers shall be freely and cheerfully supplied by their brethren. See chapter vi.—[EDITOR.]

example of the ritualistic party in the Anglican church furnishes a significant lesson. They have infused zeal, energy, and personal service into the details of religious observances often formal before. We may think much of this zeal misdirected, vitiated by the fundamental error of exalting ceremonial at the expense of spirituality, and fore-doomed in the long run to incline men to be agnostic, and women superstitious; but in so far as it illustrates the apostolic counsel, "whatsoever ye do, work heartily," it deserves admiration, and it has achieved very notable results. How many cultured women find a congenial sphere for their æsthetic and religious tastes in adorning churches with flowers at Easter, or evergreens at Christmas, in working altar cloths of singular beauty, and ecclesiastical vestments of resplendent hue! In a democratic and non-sacerdotal community, like the Society of Friends, a more excellent way should be found in the efficient discharge of that large and varied ministry which is needed for the service of man. Within its scope would be embraced all those human arrangements, and all that exercise of spirit, on which the profitable holding of meetings for worship and discipline depend. In this light, details often overlooked are seen to be really important. Door-keeping assumes a spiritual aspect. The punctual gathering for public worship, the warming, lighting, and ventilating of the places of assembly, are matters as really religious as was the upholstering skill of Bezaleel in the construction and furnishing of the Tabernacle. There is hardly any limit to the opportunity for personal service to the sick, physically or spiritually—in the building up of disciples—in the more perfect instruction of young converts in the way of the Lord—afforded in the economy of our First-day Schools and in that of any considerable congregation of Friends. By men and women, themselves actively and humbly serving in the royal priesthood, the claims, the assumption and the exaltation of a sacerdotal caste are seen to be futile. They have neither time nor taste for such things. They feel with Nehemiah, "I am doing a great work so that I cannot come down."

Whilst the kingdom of Christ recognises no sacerdotal system, every intelligent reader of the New Testament must be struck

with the importance attached to the character and qualifications of the officers of the Christian society. A large part of Christ's earthly work was given to the training of the twelve Apostles. The choice of Stephen and his colleagues as deacons was one of the first steps in the development of the Church. It supplied an obvious want. The Epistles to Timothy and Titus are chiefly occupied with instructions as to the work and duties of Church officers. It is assumed throughout the Acts of the Apostles and the subsequent Epistles, that the Churches everywhere required officers. Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in "every Church." Paul told Titus to "ordain elders in every city." Men who desired the office of a bishop desired "a good work." Deacons who had used their office well had purchased to themselves "a good degree and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus." All Church history, including that of the Society of Friends, is a commentary on and confirmation of the position here assumed as to the great influence exerted by the officers of the Christian community. They are a necessity for the efficient discharge of its functions. In the goodness of God, "manifold grace" is still poured out upon His people, of which they are to be "good stewards." In view of this manifest condition of healthy Church life, we cannot but observe with some apprehension the indisposition to accept the responsibility attaching to the possession of spiritual gifts. There must be something out of the true harmony when Ministers deem their service hindered by the recognition of their gift, and when the work of the deacon is supposed to be better done by the "free lance" than by the duly appointed Overseer. If the method of the recognition of Ministers and the appointment of Overseers and Elders is susceptible of improvement, by all means let such changes as are called for be made. But to suppose that a Christian society can flourish without officers is to suppose that an undisciplined crowd can contend with a disciplined army. It is sometimes said, perhaps more often thought, that the growth of a separate class is prevented by the absence of Church officers. We believe exactly the opposite is the usual result. Where the functions

of a Christian society are well discharged, there the priest is not needed. But where they are not discharged, where disorder reigns, where the lambs are not fed, where the sheep are not tended, there the representative of sacerdotalism finds an easy entrance. The live dog is better than the dead lion. There is just so much of truth in the view we have been combating, as may rightly put us on our guard against the spirit of officialism. But official duties will be discharged in a non-official spirit where they are entered upon in the apostolic frame of mind :—" Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly ; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."*

It deserves consideration whether sufficient thought has been given to the location and size of meeting houses. In towns where there is a Friends' congregation of 150 or 200 persons, it might sometimes be better if it divided into two or three congregations. Many of the towns in England where Friends' meetings exist are five or ten times more populous than when that meeting was established, and the distance between the place of worship and the residences of the congregation is one reason of the difficulty of sustaining the attendance. In a medium sized meeting we think the Friends' system of worship is frequently more happily illustrated than in one either very large or very small. Where a congregation is inspired with an aggressive, living spirit of Christian earnestness, it usually increases in numbers and this, in the absence of adverse causes, should be the normal expectation of our meetings.

The monthly magazine is an important medium of uniting influence in many parishes, and in some Nonconformist congregations, like that of Dr. Clifford. It would be an interesting experiment were such a publication attempted by some of the larger Friends' meetings. But it is not necessary to multiply suggestions for definite action. They will arise in very many

* 1 Peter v. 2-4.

minds, under the promptings of the ever present Spirit, where the duty of congregational growth and edification is loyally accepted.

A policy like that which has been indicated undoubtedly calls for self-sacrifice, and no little "individual faithfulness" to duty, on the part of those who adopt it. At the outset of his apostolic career, Paul was told "how many things he must suffer for My name's sake." The sacerdotal system of religion is popular because it is easy and fits in with some of the strongest likings of human nature. We believe it cannot be laid down too emphatically that the opposite system, wherein every man is his own priest, can only answer where the community accepting it are strenuously prepared to sacrifice ease, money, position, time, influence, and reputation, in the service of Christ, and to account such a sacrifice a privilege. In the words of London Yearly Meeting:—"If we would, as a Church, vindicate and exemplify the testimony of Christianity against an exclusive and separate priesthood, it must be in becoming ourselves conformed to the mind of Christ, and in being subject to His government through the power of His Spirit. Thus will each be taught and qualified to take his part in the true priesthood of believers."*

* *Christian Discipline of the Society of Friends*, i. 54.

PART III.

EDUCATION IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHAPTER VIII.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ACKWORTH SCHOOL, 1779-1879.*

A GREAT SCHOOL is often both the monument of a good man and the memorial of a great want. Eton perpetuates the memory of its royal founder's peaceful piety, in an age of turbulence and bloodshed. Dean Colet founded St. Paul's, to spread the knowledge of the recovered learning, in the days of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. John Lyon, a yeoman of Harrow, and Lawrence Sheriff, a grocer from Rugby, wishing to do something that might prevent the return of the old superstition that was ever asserting itself in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, endowed the schools which have made Harrow and Rugby famous.

In like manner, Ackworth School owes its existence to the enlightened energy of Dr. John Fothergill and to the sore educational needs of the Society of Friends in Great Britain a hundred years ago.

The fourth generation of those who bore the name of Friends, as distinctive of their faith, was passing away in 1779. Amongst the first and second generations of Friends were many able schoolmasters, some of whom had enjoyed a collegiate education. These had mostly died before the eighteenth century was far advanced, and thenceforward the Society of Friends suffered severely from a want of schools and of teachers. Between 1700 and 1740, London Yearly Meeting pressed on its members, no less than twenty-seven times, the duty of greater attention to the education of youth. Minutes and epistles were not

* A paper read at the Centenary Commemoration, 27th June, 1879.

necessarily more productive of results in the eighteenth century than they are in the nineteenth, but their existence clearly marks the prevalence of an educational famine. . .*

When the reign of George II. was drawing towards its close, a stone building was slowly rising in the Yorkshire village of Ackworth, designed to be a home for London foundlings. Its promoters expended £13,000 upon it. They expended also much zeal and pains in caring for their helpless charges after they were gathered within this spacious dwelling. But the results were disheartening, and in 1773 the institution was closed. Through the chain of events already detailed in James Hack Tuke's *Sketch of the life of Dr. Fothergill*, the vacant premises passed into the possession of the trustees of the Society of Friends a few years later. George III. had lived through a third of his long reign, the Earl of Chatham was soon to be laid in Westminster Abbey, the melancholy war between Great Britain and her thirteen revolted Colonies was dragging its slow length along when the foxes that had found a kennel in the deserted Foundling Hospital were disturbed by the advent of other tenants.

John and Judith Hill were the first heads of the new household. John Hill bore the titles of Treasurer and Superintendent, his wife that of Mistress of the family. For the care and teaching of 314 children they had the help of five schoolmasters, three mistresses, and eighteen other officers and servants. All the accounts which have come down to us of the founding of Ackworth School agree in testifying to the wide-spread interest excited amongst Friends by the enterprise and the pecuniary liberality with which it was supported. Nor are the views of the founders obscure as to the class who were to be benefited by the School, or the nature of the discipline that was to be exercised over the scholars. These were to be the children of Friends in Great Britain, "not in affluence." The boys were to be carefully taught in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic, and "labour being intermixed with learning, the ends of both," says Dr. Fothergill, were to be promoted—"a sound mind in a healthy body." The

* See Samuel Tuke's *Five Papers*.

girls were to be instructed in knitting, spinning, useful needlework and domestic occupations, "suitable to their sex and station." The principles of religion professed by Friends were to be diligently inculcated, by example perhaps more than by precept; and great care was to be taken to preserve the children from bad habits and immoral conduct. Contact with the external world was to be reduced to a minimum and thus "a guarded and religious education" was to be promoted. It is impossible to read Dr. Fothergill's letter to a Friend,* written in 1779, or Sarah Grubb's account of the School a few years later, without seeing that the founders of Ackworth School and the founders of monastic institutions a thousand years earlier had some points in common.

A General Meeting was held at the School three months before the admission of children. The opening ceremony—if ceremony of any sort there was—occurred on October 18th, 1779, by the arrival from Poole, in Dorsetshire, of Barton and Ann Gates, who have almost acquired historic fame from having headed the long procession of nine thousand five hundred children who have entered Ackworth School.† It was but slowly the School filled. About fifty children had gathered by the end of 1779. Amongst these Lancashire was not represented. Yorkshire had sent less than a dozen. The majority were from distant parts. The earliest notices of the School are very favourable. Sir Rowland Winn, of Nostell Priory, is said to have been affected to tears when he saw the healthy, happy faces at dinner and recurred to the unhappy experience of the foundlings who before occupied the building. Dr. Fothergill says he twice visited the School in 1780, and writes in the highest terms of the progress of the children in their studies, and of their behaviour.

Of the state of the School about seven years after its foundation, Sarah Grubb has left us a picture that portrays, at any rate, one of its aspects, and is specially interesting to us because it

* *A Letter from J. Fothergill to a Friend in the Country, relative to the Intended School at Ackworth.*

† *i.e.*, up to 1879, when this paper was written.—[EDITOR.]

refers to a time earlier than can now be remembered by any living Ackworth scholar. Sarah Grubb was the daughter of William Tuke, of York, and the nurse of John Woolman in his last illness. She was a helper in Esther Tuke's school for girls, at York, took a leading part in founding Waterford School, and is said to have combined "the manners of a duchess with the piety of a saint." Her letter descriptive of Ackworth, addressed to a friend in America, from Foston—afterwards the home of Sydney Smith—was probably written not long before her death in 1790.* For the 180 boys there were, she says, four or five masters, who taught in four schools, the masters keeping much to the distinct branches of learning for which they were best qualified, reading, writing, arithmetic, and the children pass in classes from school to school, excepting the little ones. There were "some apprentices," and ten or twelve of "the eldest and most solid boys" were monitors. These seem to have discharged important functions at meal times, or at least in the collecting before them. When the first bell had rung, ten minutes before a meal, we are told how the masters stand in front of their own divisions, whilst the monitors "survey the boys behind and before, taking care that their buckles are in order, their hair combed, and, if any be dirty, to send them to wash. Here," the narrative proceeds, "the masters have a frequent opportunity of making useful observations, giving general directions, administering counsel, and selecting out offenders for the table of disgrace, which is no otherwise distinguished than by being detached from the rest, and having no cloth upon it." Let us interrupt the narrative to note that there must then have been table-cloths before 1790, though in 1814 we shall read of the "clothless board." How long the table of disgrace lasted, history does not say. It was in existence in Robert Whitaker's time, for we have heard how he once entered the dining room and, finding two monitors sitting at this table, lifted up his arms and his voice, exclaiming, "Fallen! Fallen!" "When all appetites appear satisfied," continues Sarah Grubb, "and a meal is ended, silence again takes

* Printed in *Account of Life of Sarah Grubb*, 1792 and later editions.

place, after which, with an intimation of quietude and sedateness, they are beckoned to depart." The same order is observed amongst the girls, under their four mistresses, with "salaries from £12 to £25."

We must not pause to speak of the duties of the spinning mistress, nor of the means for compassing those most desirable ends—the preservation of the mistresses from "a too oppressive load of anxiety," and "cherishing in them a necessary recollection of mind, enabling them more sensibly to partake of a measure of Divine strength, by which alone they can govern with right authority and tenderness." Sarah Grubb describes the engagements of First-days, and tells how the two cooks got the victuals ready the day before—cold meat and fruit pies in summer and "boiled plum puddings in winter," only needing one person to stay at home and keep the coppers boiling; and how in the evening the whole family are collected, when "they quietly settle down in silence, for a little while, then one of the masters reads a chapter, and about six boys and as many girls read six or eight verses each, after which they pause again till it is judged a suitable time for the children to withdraw, which they do, not in couples as on other occasions, but singly, going immediately to bed, and at such a distance from each other as to admit of no conversation by the way; the teachers passing with them in certain divisions preserve the quietude without interruption." But we must not linger longer on Sarah Grubb's picture. She tells so much of the recollectedness of the teachers, of the quietude and sedateness of the boys, of the order and solidity of the servants at meals, of the children's clothing so neatly folded every night, scarce one article was to be found out of its place, that it is a little difficult to realise she is writing near to a time when discipline had become so relaxed that one of the boys had assumed the title and exercised some of the prerogatives of king. William Howitt tells how this aspirant for royalty had manifested his prowess by climbing higher than any competitor up the leaden spout in the corner of the pediment, and thereon inscribing his initials, which, he says, writing in 1847, remain unto this day.

A large part of the money, as well as of the zeal, that launched Ackworth School, was contributed by Friends in the south of England. I find that of the first subscription of £7,000, which paid for the building and eighty-four acres of land, five-sixths (£5,800) was given by donors living south of Leicester, and for many years London and Middlesex contributed more than double the amount of any other Quarterly Meeting to the annual subscription. It was but natural that those who found so large a part of the funds should wish to have a corresponding share in the management of the School. Hence the establishment of a London as well as of a Country Committee, each of twenty-eight members. The functions of each Committee were fixed by rule—neither might incur an expenditure exceeding £20 without the sanction of the other, and with the General Meeting rested the questionable privilege of deciding between the two Committees when their judgments differed. This was not a promising constitution for an executive body, and it was not long before the dual government evolved those symptoms of friction—smoke and heat. The General Meeting's authority over the two Committees was not a dead letter, for there is a record of a sitting from seven to eleven in the evening, hearing an appeal against the Country Committee for refusing to admit a boy on the score of lameness. It is told how the London Committee was once alarmed at the expense proposed by their country friends in making certain structural alterations in stone, and sent down an architect to prepare a cheaper plan in wood. Arrived amongst the stone quarries of Yorkshire, he shortly returned to the Metropolis with tidings that wood would cost more than stone! After the superintendence of Dr. Binns, the difficulties diminished. Gradually, as was natural, the real power increasingly centred in the Country Committee, administering affairs upon the spot. Its relations with Friends in London became most cordial, and the existence of the dual government was prolonged some years, at the wish of north-country Friends, who feared lest its abolition would lessen the national character of the institution. An amusing correspondence between the two Committees occurred about 1836. The Country

Committee decreed the abolition of beer as the children's beverage at dinner. The London Committee proposed as an amendment that the beer be made better. Teetotalism won the day, and the brew-house was transformed into a water-tank! At last, in 1869, the London Committee was dissolved as a separate body, some of its members forming a section of the united Committee, now (1879) raised to thirty-six persons—irrespective of the Women's Committee of ten persons.

However, our narrative is yet seventy years behind 1869, and we have introduced the story of the two Committees here because their differences caused not a little perplexity to John Hipsley (who succeeded John Hill as Superintendent in 1791) and conduced, with other causes, to his retirement in 1795. The General Meeting of that year must have been a lively time. The boys' reading was thought not up to the mark. One speaker, himself a teacher, thought the "*rising* cadence defective." So much exercised was the General Meeting, that it set aside a committee to examine the teachers, who had to read before it. They passed the ordeal successfully, though the air with which one of them threw down his book indicated that such a testing of the teachers' powers was deemed by them rather *infra dignitatem*. Another interesting proof of the care taken in the teaching of reading at a somewhat later date was the sending of one of the mistresses to York to read before Lindley Murray—from whose judgment there was then no appeal. His report was so flattering that he suggested it ought not be shown to the subject of it lest it should conduce to too much exaltation.

John Hipsley was succeeded by Dr. Jonathan Binns, of Liverpool, who renounced his medical practice in order, under a sense of duty, to assume the superintendence of Ackworth School. Under his rule, the differences already hinted at between the two Committees, in which Dr. Binns himself became involved, interfered with the prosperity of the institution. Dr. Binns' medical skill, and his devotion in times of illness, are still on record. He edited the excellent *Ackworth Vocabulary*, which has passed through so many editions. The *Ackworth Table Book, Scripture*

Text Book, and *Reading Book*, have all been useful and creditable contributions to the school literature of England. In 1804, Robert Whitaker, who had been secretary to Dr. Binns, was appointed the first salaried Superintendent, and retained the office for nearly thirty years. The offices of Superintendent and Treasurer, hitherto united, were now separated. Wilson Birkbeck, Sparkes Moline, and Samuel Gurney—father and son—are the four Friends who have discharged the duties of Treasurer. The prevailing opinion that the first Superintendents received no pecuniary remuneration is not quite correct. They had no regular salaries, but the minutes of the Committee show that occasional honoraria were bestowed. We have heard how the late John Hipsley, the son of the Superintendent, served the institution as book-keeper without a regular salary. When he left, in the autumn of 1796, the Committee marked their appreciation of his services by presenting him with an aged horse, whereon he rode to York, where he sold it for £12.

This financial expedient here invites a few words upon Ackworth finance. The terms for board, clothing, and education, fixed in 1779, were £8 8s. per annum. It illustrates the value of money a century ago, and the prevailing ideas as to the resources of Friends "not in affluence," to find Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting pushing on the formation of its School Fund, so as to reimburse parents one half of this eight guineas. And, indeed, Joseph Brown, of Lothersdale, whose memory is embalmed by his fellow-prisoner, James Montgomery, in the lines "Spirit leave thy house of clay," told Dr. Fothergill it was a contradiction in terms to say the School was for "children not in affluence," and yet to charge £8 8s. per annum, for clothing, feeding, and educating them. The terms remained unaltered till 1799, when they were raised to £10 10s., advanced to £12 12s. in 1801, reduced to £10 10s. in 1807, and to £10 in 1823. They remained at this figure for a quarter of a century, till in 1848 the system of graduated payments, varying according to the ability of the parent, was introduced. The rates then adopted were £10, £15, and £20. Successive changes, since that year of European revolution,

have brought the rates to what they are now (1879), £15, £20, £26, £32, and £40. The average payment received per child previous to the change made in 1848, was £10; the introduction of the graduated rates soon raised the average to £15 5s., and it has slowly crept up to £26. The annual income of the institution in the first few years of its existence averaged about £5,000, children's payments contributing rather more than half this sum. It has grown to £9,904, in the year that ended with the last day in 1878, the children paying £7,281. . .

Recurring again to the state of Ackworth School early in this century, we have, on the whole, a pleasing description from the pen of William Howitt, who was a pupil between 1802 and 1806. He fully corroborates Sarah Grubb's statements of the complete social equality that existed amongst the children, though some came from very poor homes, and others from homes of many more outward comforts. Sarah Grubb highly commends this blending of different classes, and so does William Howitt. After speaking of the children's isolation from outside evil influences, he says, "Within, the children are free from the distinctions of wealth and rank, which torment the world and excite many keen heart-burnings in most public schools. Here not a sense of them exists. The utmost equality, the most cordial harmony prevail. One child is distinguished from another only by the difference of person, of talents, of disposition, and proficiency in learning. Happy estate!" he exclaims, "admirable foundation for a noble and erect carriage; for establishing in the mind a habit of valuing men, not by wealth and artificial rank, but by the everlasting distinction of virtue and talent." But for the inexorable march of time, it would be pleasant to linger over *The Boy's Country Book*, and to revive the picture it gives us of Ackworth life in the days of the long French war. Especially graphic is the notice of the walks, and the distribution of hats and caps for the 180 lads from the great wicker-baskets wherein they were kept stored, except when in use for these rambles. He tells how, in one of these walks, a boy with bow and arrow shot a goose dead, and how the Superintendent paid the aggrieved farmer 5s., the price

of a live one, and how the odours which permeated the culinary department, when the said bird was cooked, confirmed the veracity of the boy who, the day before, had in vain affirmed its real condition. William Howitt tells how he and Wiffen, the translator of Tasso, told tales by turns in the bedrooms, of the sliding in winter, of gardens in summer excelling any other gardens he ever knew, and of the much-loved privilege, then, as before and after, of walking on the flags—" a charmed promenade "—where brothers met sisters, and cousins of uncertain degrees of relationship confirmed and renewed their friendships.

In 1813, wheat and " meslin " cost Ackworth School £1,713, more than three times the cost of flour last year. The harvest of 1812 was bad and the flour bad in consequence. We have heard scholars of this period tell how their pieces of bread would stretch out till they were almost a yard in length! At an earlier period, 1795, John Hipsley mentions wheat, just before harvest, as 14s. per bushel, and the fears that prevailed lest there should not be corn enough in the country at any price. The book-keeper went to Pontefract market in those days, and such was the competition, " that he had to place his hand on the farmer's sack in order to secure wheat, the moment the bell rang for market to begin."

We must not pass away from the early history of Ackworth without referring to some of the visitations of illness. In 1828 the institution was visited with an awful epidemic of fever; nearly 200 were ill—Henry Brady the much beloved reading master, Mary Dumbleton the nurse, and three girls died. In the winter of 1831-2, nearly the same number were attacked by fever —three fatal cases occurred. A pupil who was at school between 1821 and 1824, writes, " The state of health must, on the whole, have been below what it ought to have been. Bronchocele, or full neck, was so common that every spring the doctor examined us all round, feeling our necks. When there was incipient glandular swelling, he prescribed an extra weekly plunge in the cold bath—a highly popular remedy." Chilblains were a scourge of many children in winter, in some cases " crippling them for

successive weeks." Robert Whitaker, writing during the attack of fever in 1824, refers to the medical treatment of that time in these terms: "most of the late attacks have been slight scarlatina with sore throat, which is not a formidable disease. If the children complain quite in the outset, a smart dose of calomel, with a cup of solution of Epsom Salts, followed by a febrifuge and a little nursing, are generally the means of subduing the complaint in a few days." In the hundred years of the School's history, the whole number of children who have died at school is 93. Arranged in decennial periods, the deaths group themselves thus—14, 11, 8, 7, 17, 10, 9, 6, 6, 5. It is said that about forty of the foundling children died within three months, during the prevalence of one epidemic. . . .

The Society of Friends is now so assiduous in pressing on its members the duty and privilege of frequent Scripture reading, and the practice is so general, that it is a little difficult to realise that for more than thirty years the Scriptures were not publicly read in Ackworth School, except on First-day evenings, when Kendall's *Abstract* was the volume often used. In 1813, Robert Whitaker introduced the plan of reading a chapter from the New Testament every morning after breakfast. Three years later, Joseph John Gurney attended the General Meeting, and in examining the children as to their knowledge of Scripture, found it was very small. In a letter subsequently addressed to the Superintendent, Joseph John Gurney says, "I am of opinion that the minds of the boys are not properly cultivated on the subject of religion. They are remarkably sheltered from evil, but do not appear to me to be positively led to good." At his suggestion, a Bible, formerly given to each child on leaving school, was furnished to each on entering. The scholars cordially accepted his proposals to undertake to study the Scriptures, preparatory to an examination by himself at the close of the year. The Superintendent, Robert Whitaker, and the teachers warmly seconded his views. Each child received a copy of the Bible. "Well thumbed were these copies at the year's end," says Joseph John Gurney, in his diary. "The children took their

Bibles to bed with them, read them by the early morning light, pored over them at leisure hours during the day, and especially on First-days. The teachers rendered them their best assistance, knowledge of the subject increased, and with it good; and when I visited them at the close of twelve months, the whole aspect of affairs was changed." The good work brought about by Joseph John Gurney was continued under his auspices for several years, and then gradually came into the regular school curriculum. It may safely be said that for the last sixty years the care taken in instructing the children in Scripture truth has been a leading feature in Ackworth School.

I have already referred to three notices of Ackworth School in its early days which have come down to us. Two others now claim attention. A pamphlet in rhyme—I cannot say poetry—printed at Nottingham, in 1814, describes a visit to Ackworth by Mentor and Amander. Nearly a third of these three hundred verses of doggerel are occupied with a discussion of punishments, in which the use of the rod is deprecated. The gist of the argument is in the lines—

> "Reject th' 'abrutalizing scourge,'
> And pause, and look within.
> * * *
> For if with Solomon I whip,
> Why not with Moses stone?" *

Passing over another ten years, I come to a fifth notice of Ackworth, in a letter from our friend, Thomas Harvey, who was a scholar in 1821-24. He says:—

"The School was, I believe, considered nearly perfect. He would have been a bold man who had hinted that there was much

* There is not much in this narrative that is specially illustrative. Two verses descriptive of a dinner at Ackworth, when Napoleon was a prisoner at Elba, may serve as a specimen of the whole.

> "Bak'd pudding crown'd the clothless board,
> The dinner of fifth-day,
> Each trencher bore an ample piece,
> From side to side it lay.
>
> Soon as the pudding and the sauce
> To ev'ry one were dealt,
> Stillness immediately ensu'd—
> Stillness, which might be felt!"

that was defective. I can believe it was, as a school, in advance of other middle-class schools, both in education and training; but in looking back, memory rests on arrangements which, in some respects, were Spartan. The clothing had been considerably reformed, the old leathern breeches were abolished—one pair survived, which boys who inked their clothes were compelled to wear a day or two, as a punishment; still the clothes were so peculiar in cut and appearance that I suppose few on leaving school were able to wear them out. The dietary was decidedly unsatisfactory. We had roast or baked meat to dinner on two days in the week; on two other days 'lob-scouse,' a poor thin Irish stew, with a little meat in it; on another day, suet pudding with treacle sauce; on another, batter pudding—'clatty vengeance'—very unpopular. On First-days, apple or other fruit pie, or a kind of cold, sweet rice pudding. The dinners were served on wooden trenchers, with very small beer—the smaller the better—in tin mugs. The redeeming feature of the diet was the excellence of the hot milk porridge at breakfast, and the cold milk with bread at supper. I sometimes think I have never tasted anything so good since those breakfasts.

"As regards teaching, there were few subjects taught; Reading, Grammar, Writing, Geography, English History and Arithmetic comprising nearly the whole. . . . The Scriptures were carefully taught. Several of the masters and apprentices—I remember especially Henry Brady a most superior man among the former, and John Newby among the latter—took a good deal of pains to give the boys a taste for improved pursuits in their leisure time. As to the moral tone of the school, I feel at a loss to speak. That it was lower than it has become, I do not doubt; that it was higher than in many other schools of the period, I think probable. In so large a school boys group themselves into circles of intimacy, and have only a slight knowledge of other circles. If a boy drew towards an orderly set, and became one of them, he would know little of the doings of a set at the other extreme, and would partake little of its tone of thought. That there was much needing reform I do not doubt—the adult masters were too few to exercise the oversight that was desirable, and there were some traditional notions of discipline that were radically bad, though held with the best of motives. One of these was that any evil that cropped up—without reference to its greater or less degree of blame-worthiness—was best repressed by severity. The extreme punishment was flogging. This was administered with what seemed to us a somewhat awful surrounding of mystery. After the boys had gone to bed, the culprit was brought before the Masters' Meeting, tried, convicted, and punished. I dare say it was not very severe, but the stigma was most injurious.

Some of the offences liable to this degrading punishment were in themselves trivial; such as carving names anywhere on wood or stone, taking food out of the dining-room, etc. There were also "light and airy cells" for solitary confinement. I remember a high-spirited boy being so broken down by one or two days' solitude, aided no doubt by the goadings of his own conscience, that he was made willing to read a most humble confession of his fault—probably not one of moral delinquency—before all the boys, teachers, and superintendent, at the evening reading. . . . Notwithstanding all that needed to be reformed, I look back with respect and love upon the superintendent and teachers. They were able, wise, and good men. . . ."

In an important document, dated 1846, the gradual relaxation of severe discipline is named, and corporal punishment, though not formally abolished, is stated to be "practically disused." It was reserved for an Ackworth scholar—the late John Ford—after practical acquaintance, both as pupil and teacher, with the harsher systems of discipline, luminously to explain the principles and illustrate the methods by which influence and authority may be maintained without recourse to corporal inflictions—unless in very rare cases—and yet without relaxing that habit of obedience which still is "the bond of rule."

In the year 1833, Hannah Whitaker, whose official connection with the institution dated from 1787, died of cholera, whilst from home on a journey. Her husband, Robert Whitaker, retired from his long term of superintendence the next year. Just before the close of 1834, Thomas and Rachel Pumphrey assumed the duties of heads of the Ackworth household.

The establishment of the Friends' Educational Society in 1837 influenced the history of Ackworth School in various ways. The Society was educational in a double sense. Its theme was education, its objects being practical rather than theoretical. The men who took part in its proceedings were themselves educated by the discussions that took place and by the facts elicited by their inquiries. The boarding-school system of teaching, begun by Friends at Ackworth in 1779, had been expanded by the successive establishment of other schools, till, as was said at the Educational Meeting of 1842, from 1,000 to

1,200 children connected with Friends were in its different boarding-schools. To my father, the late Joseph Rowntree, the question continually recurred, what were the results of this education? He has told how constantly this thought presented itself when the Ackworth Committee met with the boys who were leaving school, for the last interview. No one knew better than he that there are mental and spiritual results that would elude any attempt of the statistician to take cognisance of. But it would be possible—could a sufficient number of persons be interested in the inquiry—to follow out the history of a group of Ackworth scholars, to see how many were living after a given interval, how many had gone to this or that trade, how many had failed in business, how many had emigrated, how many had married, how many were still Friends, for what causes those no longer Friends had left the Society. After much thought, Joseph Rowntree determined to enter on this investigation, and in the autumn of 1843, asked correspondents in all parts of England and Scotland to supply these particulars as respects the 1,869 boys who had left Ackworth in the forty years ending with the last day of 1839. It would have been contrary to all precedent if some Friends had not thought this inquiry useless or mischievous; but it was carried through, and, as the result of much patience, a great correspondence, and some expenditure of money, a mass of valuable information was collected. No report of the investigation was published. This would have been difficult in a form not open to objection. Some of the facts disclosed were calculated to occasion pain and discouragement, and it may, I believe, be said that the general result of the inquiry was considered to be disappointing. The startling facts in respect to disownments for marriage contrary to the rules of Friends were made much use of in the subsequent discussion of the Society's marriage regulations. But what more particularly concerns us now, is the result of these returns upon Ackworth School. Those most closely connected with its management were convinced that the time had come for improving the material appliances of the School—making the schoolrooms more spacious, and

therefore more healthy, and making more decided efforts to add to the power of the teaching force by increasing the proportion of teachers to scholars, and by obtaining better-trained teachers. In 1846-47, an appeal was widely circulated, stating the wish of the Committee to compass these ends, by raising the boys' wing, so increasing the airiness of the schoolrooms, adding to their number by taking the Meeting-house for that purpose and erecting a new one in its place. Along with these material improvements, the number of boys' classes and of teachers was increased. A liberal response came to this appeal—£6,238—and these great changes were carried out. When completed, Friends were so much pleased with them that, after the General Meeting of 1849, a loud demand arose that the girls' side should also be improved. Large alterations were effected in the summer of 1851, the whole cost being defrayed by special subscription. But whilst donations paid for these large investments in stone and mortar, added income was wanted for the annual outgoings of the School, now increased by the additional teachers and their larger remuneration. It was to meet this that the plan of graduated charges was successfully introduced in 1848. In 1852, the study of French was commenced—more than sixty of the children beginning to learn it. Latin had been taught to the elder boys since 1824; now another class of boys began to learn it. It will be seen that the period from 1846 to 1852 was one of the most momentous in the history of Ackworth School. It was one of rapid change and of great improvement. Thomas Pumphrey was just the man to be at the head of affairs at such a time. His fertility in resource and his active and enterprising spirit were of the greatest value in carrying out alterations, both material and educational.

During the same period another event had occurred, that told how "the old order changeth." For sixty-seven years Ackworth School had pursued its operations with unbroken continuity when, in the summer of 1847, the great household broke up for the first vacation. "Who," says a spectator, "but those who witnessed the animated scene of the departure, can

picture its thrilling and overpowering character? Situated several miles from the nearest railway, it was needful to call into requisition all the vehicles at disposal; and five large tilted waggons, fitted up for the occasion, each containing thirty or forty light-hearted children, made more than a trip a-piece to one or other of the neighbouring stations. The morning was favourable; many visitors assembled to witness the novelty; the children in their best, each bearing his own modicum of luggage, took their places in the waggons, nothing loth to be tightly stowed; and before eight o'clock the first party of 100 started amidst loud and reiterated cheers, which were heartily re-echoed by the joyous freight of the ponderous, heavily-laden vehicles. Ere another hour had elapsed, a second 100 were thus disposed of, and by one o'clock the busy scene of the morning concluded by clearing out the last juvenile occupant of yesterday's crowded mansion."

The vacation of 1847 was experimental, but its results were so satisfactory that it became a permanent institution. For nearly half-a-century no vacations at all were allowed to the Ackworth scholars. Children were four, five, and even seven years without seeing their homes. A story is told of a poor man in Cornwall, who sent one child after another to Ackworth. The journey there was too great for him to undertake, and as the children on leaving school took situations in the North of England, their home-leaving for school was a home-leaving for life. Nor must it be forgotten that, in the days of no vacations, telegrams were unknown, post-cards unthought of, and the postage of letters so dear that they were very few in number. The few letters that were written at the School for the home circle were always seen by a teacher or Superintendent before leaving the institution, so that there was hardly any intimate communication kept up between parent and child, through the post. Parents came to the Inn, and so saw their children—but it was only some who had this opportunity. The founders of Ackworth had seen the evils of children growing up ill-taught in their homes. In seeking to remedy this, they to some extent

overlooked the unique power of the family bond, as a Divine institution, and the impossibility of parental duties being performed by proxy. . . . It is true we can hardly realise the difficulties there were in the way of locomotion eighty years ago, which, of course, partly explain the absence of vacations. Some of the present company will remember how, when set down by the coach at Went Bridge, they were brought on to Ackworth in a cart littered with straw, and drawn by the ox which also carted coals and turned the washing mill. Soon after the introduction of railways, permissive vacations were allowed to children who had been two years at school, and when the general vacation just spoken of followed, it may safely be said that the School came into closer harmony with the Divine plan of human teaching and discipline.

Meantime, a stone building had been rising on the brow of a hill that had formed part of the School estate. It looked lovingly down on the elder building, and was designed as a training college for young men teachers, under the bequest of Benjamin Flounders, of Yarm. The Flounders Institute was opened in the summer of 1848, under the superintendence of Isaac Brown. It has most influentially helped the work of the School, during the thirty years that have elapsed since its opening.

In 1858, the girl's wing was remodelled and improved. The next year the swimming bath was provided by the liberality of former scholars. The old bath claims a few words of notice, for which I am again indebted to Thomas Harvey:—

"The old bath, fed by a very cold chalybeate spring, was about half-a-mile from the school. Those whose turn it was, rose early and walked before early class and breakfast to bathe—the new and little boys had to jump in and be caught, after their plunge, by bigger boys, who handed them on to the shallower part of the bath to creep out. If a boy shrank from leaping into what seemed, to his little mind, a yawning gulf, he was bodily thrown in by one of the younger teachers. It was a frightful process, yet we soon got used to the bath and, after a while, thoroughly enjoyed it. We had no towels, but put our shirts on our wet skins and got dry by exercise. Towels were introduced soon afterwards. That this bathing refreshed

and invigorated the stronger boys, I have no doubt, but none also that it injured others. I remember a little boy being seized with a shivering fit after his bath—taken back to the nursery and his bed, and in a short time dying. At his funeral, his elder brother—then a very young acknowledged Minister—was present, also J. J. Gurney. Under the pathetic ministry of these friends, the school was a Bochim (the boy was a general favourite); but I do not recollect that any connection was suspected to exist between the shock to the nervous system of a delicate child at the bath, and his illness and death."

Previous to 1860, examinations into the attainments of the children had been made by the Committee, and at the General Meetings by the visitors present. In this year, an examination was conducted by William Davis, B.A., a professional examiner. Inspections by professional examiners took place in 1872, and again in 1874 and 1879.

In 1862, Thomas Pumphrey retired from the superintendence of the School. His death occurred in the same year. George Satterthwaite entered on the vacant office and held it for eleven years. In 1870, the rules of the institution were altered to allow of the admission of children outside the line of membership with Friends. The School had not been full, and it was believed these extra scholars would improve the finances without interfering with the conduct of the institution as a Friends' school.

I have already referred to five accounts of Ackworth School relating to different epochs in its history. Two others should be noticed shortly. In 1853, George F. Linney published a history of the School—a small volume of fifty-five pages. It was written by the late Thomas Pumphrey, and is the fullest account of the institution that has hitherto been published. I have often employed it in the preparation of this sketch. In 1866, Ackworth School was visited by J. G. Fitch, M.A., on behalf of the Schools' Inquiry Commission. His notice of the School is printed in the ninth volume of the report of that Commission, presented to Parliament in 1868. He says:—

"The intention of the founders has been admirably carried out. . . . The course of instruction is faithfully described in the regulations as a 'sound, useful education, rather than one of

a showy or superficial character.' In the girls' school I was especially struck with the beauty and finish of the reading, and of all the written exercises. In both schools, geography, history, English grammar, and experimental science are well and intelligently taught. Instruction is also given in Latin and French. Greek is not attempted. The whole curriculum contemplates the removal of the pupils at about fifteen. I cannot sufficiently express my admiration of the order, seriousness and repose of this great institution, or my sense of the advantage which the pupils enjoy, in the watchful supervision of the Society to which they belong."

On the retirement of George and Rachel Satterthwaite from the superintendence in 1873, Josiah and Mary H. Evans succeeded as heads of the Ackworth household. Robert Whitaker was a successful teacher before coming to Ackworth, but, with this exception, Josiah Evans, the seventh Superintendent, was the first who had enjoyed a professional training as a school-master. His administration, extending over four years, will be remembered as the period of the first winter vacation (1876), also as that in which the teachers and Superintendent first dined with the children, conversation being henceforward allowed at that important event in each day's proceedings. The boys' washing-cellar was done away with, and the new warm baths and lavatories erected. In the educational department of the School, Latin and French, Geometry and Algebra were now for the first time taught in all classes except the lowest, and the whole School was re-arranged, on the principle of placing every child under an adult teacher, each of whom was assisted by one or more junior helpers.

The present Superintendent, Frederick Andrews, with his wife, entered on their duties after the vacation of 1877. All interested in the School will desire for our friends a long and useful reign.*

And now, though I have brought down my narrative from 1779 to 1879, how much that is pertinent to the subject in hand remains unsaid! And that which remains unsaid, personal reminiscences, anecdotes of teachers, officers, and scholars,

* Anna Maria Andrews died in October, 1888.—[EDITOR.]

changes in manners, customs, dress, and regulations, is that which gives life and sharpness to the dry outlines of history. . . .

In writing the foregoing pages I have been often reminded of a well known sentence in one of the speeches of the late Mr. Gladstone, where he spoke of the social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates cannot for one moment impede. We have seen how a century ago, the "Quaker colony" was founded at Ackworth, life there being regulated on a model far removed from that approved by the world at large. It is said, I apprehend with truth, that such was the isolation of the children that events like the battle of Trafalgar, the burning of Moscow, Napoleon's overthrow at Waterloo, and even the recurrence of Christmas Day, remained unknown to them long after their occurrence. Yet Ackworth could not be unmoved by the pulsations of life, the movements of the great social forces in the wide world around it. The discovery of vaccination and other changes in medicine, the rise of teetotalism, the invention of lighting by gas, of lucifer matches, the introduction of railways, cheap postage, telegraphs, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the general softening of manners, have all made their distinct impress on the character of Ackworth life.

I should like to have referred to officers both living and dead, to whom the School owes much. Notable gardeners, beneficent bakers, governesses like Hannah Richardson, housekeepers like Sarah Maddocks, nurses like Mary Williamson, book-keepers like George Bottomley, might claim a tribute of affectionate remembrance. Nor can I stop even to recount the names of eminent teachers—both men and women—which will be fresh in the memory of most present. Some remain among us, and some have gone to their reward.

I should like, too, to have named some of the notable men and women who have served on the Committee of Ackworth School. The names of some have incidentally occurred already, but I have hardly mentioned William Tuke, the friend of Dr. Fothergill, and the founder of the Retreat; Dr. Dalton, whose methodical economy led him to omit his annual subscription

in the years he served on the Committee; Edward Pease, the friend of Stephenson, and the father of railways; his son Joseph Pease, the first Friend returned to Parliament, a munificent contributor to the needs of Ackworth; and a host of others of whom time fails to tell. And so it does too of ancient customs, when the Committee Friends closed the day's labour over glasses of spirits and water, and fragrant fumes sped upwards from their long clay tobacco pipes. Amidst the grave debates of the Committee it would not be difficult to name many quaint or ludicrous passages. For example, when the wooden trenchers were abolished, a venerable Friend with much emphasis expressed the hope that they would be carefully preserved, as he was assured they would at no distant date be again wanted for use. The custodian of the School's archives can perhaps say whether they are still awaiting such a resurrection ?

We must not entirely omit the mention of eminent scholars. Certainly, on this auspicious day Ackworth will not forget that it has on its rolls such names as those of William Allen Miller, V.P.R.S., William Howitt, Sarah Ellis (*née* Stickney), Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, Benjamin B. Wiffen, the Right Hon. James Wilson (founder of the *Economist* newspaper, and Finance Minister of India), and the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.

> "Great men have been among us,
> Hands that penned and tongues that uttered wisdom."

But we must not linger on these well-known names nor even stop to lengthen the list of the Ackworth *alumni*, for it would surely be altogether foreign to the best traditions of Ackworth if this day were allowed to pass without making some effort to draw from the annals of the past teachings for the present and the future. Like the dying king, we hear both—

> "The voice of days of old and days to be."

Nearly forty years ago Samuel Tuke endeavoured to make an estimate of what Ackworth School had done and what it had failed in. The subdued tone of this essay contrasts pointedly

with the rose-coloured tints in which his relative, Sarah Grubb, had painted her canvas half-a-century before.

"We think," says Samuel Tuke, "there has been sufficient evidence of successful effort to encourage those who are engaged in carrying on the institution to persevere, and at the same time sufficient evidence of failure, in degree, at least, connected with our defective operations, to stimulate us to further effort in the great service of right moral teaching." For a hundred years Ackworth School has "given instruction, in the arts which it professed to teach, in a sound and efficient, and never in a superficial manner." Its scholars were early noted for the excellence of their writing. Ackworth has sent out hundreds of admirable readers, girls famed for the beauty of their sewing and boys quick and accurate at accounts. For sixty years it has been thorough in its Scriptural teaching, and its scholars have a wide-spread reputation for the possession of "industrious persevering habits," as the result of regular application enforced in the School. "We know further," says Samuel Tuke, "that Ackworth School has given its pupils a very useful and competent introduction to the various posts in commercial and civil life" which they have filled, and "many good men, fearing God and hating covetousness," have been instructed in the School, not a few of whom "look back to their instruction at Ackworth, in things moral and religious, and to the circumstances which surrounded them whilst there, with grateful recollections."* We think it may be said further that the type of character fostered at Ackworth has been one greatly needed in English society—distinguished by its thoroughness, its love of justice, its dislike of priestcraft in every form, its appreciation of men by their intrinsic worth rather than by their adventitious distinctions. These things, far more than the circumstance that a very few of its sons have attained to eminence, are the real glory of Ackworth, and constitute its claim to continued support and confidence. One result of the foundation of Ackworth School, not foreseen a century ago, has been the pecuniary harvest that its pupils have reaped, from the knowledge it has imparted,

* Samuel Tuke's *Five Papers*, 83-5.

and the habits it has implanted. The diminution of pauperism amongst Friends, in the present century, is largely due to the influence of Ackworth School.

But there is another side to the picture. Too many Ackworth pupils have belonged to an opposite class to that already described. Dr. Fothergill and his colleagues would, we believe, have been disappointed could the returns of 1843 have been laid before them, and they had seen how many had left the religious Society to which they belonged, and in too many cases had left also the walks of virtue. With human nature as it is, a certain amount of failure must always be counted on in any school. Amongst the special causes of failure in the early history of Ackworth were an exaggerated view of what could be attained by the isolation of children from manifestly evil influences, of the power of the Church as distinct from the parent to mould the characters of its children, and a forgetfulness of the place of the affections in the complex nature of a child, which need cultivation hardly less than the conscience and the intellect. It is a danger, perhaps an inevitable danger, of all great schools that the individuality of children's characters may be overlooked, and an unelastic discipline be applied to all, without reference to the peculiarities of mental and physical temperament. The same class of mistakes are apparent in the Church economy of the day, which separated so many from Church fellowship for the act of marriage contracted in a way not recognised by the Society. The direction of changes in the last fifty years has been, in the main, an admission of these errors. The tone of moral and religious teaching has become more positive, the School, it is felt, must be the ally and handmaid of the parent, not his substitute. A more generous treatment of the body and a broader culture of the mind are now enjoyed by the Ackworth pupils than in any past time. Necessarily, these changes bring their accompanying dangers. Ackworth School has its own traditions to cherish, and its own character to maintain and improve, not to throw overboard in the hope of obtaining a fresh one. It should jealously guard its ancient character for thoroughness in what it

undertakes. It would be a grave mistake to exchange thoroughness for superficial breadth. Clear, legible handwriting is more to be prized than a little aptitude in drawing ; accurate account-keeping, good reading, correct spelling would be badly exchanged for a smattering of French or Latin. It were, too, greatly to be regretted if Ackworth School became so expensive as to unfit it for those for whom it was first founded—" the children of parents not in affluence "—or if " plain living " were abandoned to the detriment of " high thinking." And, again, Ackworth School must emphatically be a *Friends'* school. It is true it cannot be unaffected by the movements of religious thought and life, any more than by those of social and domestic life. It were useless to attempt to reproduce in the nineteenth century precisely the type of religious character laboured after in the eighteenth. It will probably be too much to expect that all its pupils will, in after-life, remain in communion with the Society to which they are indebted for their education. But they will carry with them that which is above all price, and which is the essence of Friendly teaching, if, when they leave Ackworth School there is impressed upon their hearts and consciences that deep sense of personal responsibility and that loyalty to duty which spring from faith in the abiding presence of Christ with men, irrespective of outward rite, of consecrated place, or of priestly ceremony. If with this faith is blended that love of justice, and of civil and religious freedom, and respect for the rights of men, without regard to race or language, which have characterised the noblest and the best of Ackworth scholars, England herself will have cause to rejoice in the continued prosperity of this great School.

CHAPTER IX.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF YORK FRIENDS' BOYS' SCHOOL, 1829—1878.*

IN attempting to sketch the history of the School, whose fiftieth anniversary we celebrate to-day, it might have given a broader interest to the story had I first spoken of older associations—educational or historical—that cluster around its dwelling-place. Half a century is a long period, measured by a human lifetime. It may be a short period measured by the lifetime of a city or nation. Eleven hundred years ago, Charlemagne found here the most famous schoolmaster in Europe, and persuaded Alcuin to exchange his home at Eoferwic for one in the school attached to his court at Tours. It might not be uninteresting to be reminded of the relics of Norman power contiguous to the Lawrence Street School; of Walmgate's name, from the Watling-gate of the Romans; of its Bar, battered down by Oliver Cromwell; of Lawrence Street itself, named after the saint roasted on the gridiron—a street in which Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, carried out his policy of "Thorough" in sanitary matters, two centuries and a half ago. Or we might discuss the doubtful etymology of Bootham, or trace the history of Friends in York, since that snowy Christmas day, in 1651, when George Fox was hustled out of the Minster and thrown down its stone steps. But if I am to compress into thirty minutes the annals of fifty years, these and other attractive trains of inquiry must be remorselessly dismissed, and I must confine myself strictly to the subject matter of this essay.

* A paper read at the Commemoration Meeting, January 30th, 1879.

The establishment of the York Friends' Boys' School was not an accidental or an isolated event. It was the welding of another link in a long chain of educational effort. It is a thrice-told tale how at the rise of the Society of Friends the educational wants of its children were to some extent supplied by the schools conducted by those of its members who had enjoyed a liberal education in the denominations to which they had previously belonged. Most of these had died before the House of Hanover was firmly seated on the throne, and it is manifest that in the days of the Royal Georges, a grievous want of schools and of teachers existed in many districts. Yorkshire was one of these. There were a few Friends, more particularly in the West Riding, earnestly solicitous for the right teaching of children. But the mass was inert. "The desire for knowledge," remarks Samuel Tuke, writing of this period, "is usually in the inverse proportion to its need." In a remarkably tentative fashion, Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting pressed the subject of education on its constituents, in minutes that raise a smile from their vagueness; and with a patience that despised not the day of small things, gradually formed its School Fund, now amounting to £5,100, for the general furtherance of education. The annual income began to be employed about the time that Ackworth School first opened its doors to the children of Friends.

Ere that event, William Tuke, now best remembered as the founder of the Retreat, had become a notable figure in the circle of Friends resident in York. He had helped to nurse the School Fund into existence. In 1785, he and his wife, Esther Tuke, began that remarkable school, for girls of a more affluent class than were usually sent to Ackworth, which pursued its career until 1813. The interest in education felt by William Tuke was inherited by his son and grandson, Henry and Samuel Tuke, and was shared in by their relatives, the Hipsleys, Alexanders, and others. In 1818, William Tuke brought before his Quarterly Meeting a proposal to found what would now be called a middle-class school for the sons of Yorkshire Friends. The proposal was warmly taken up, and donations exceeding £2,000 were offered

towards an endowment. But discouragements supervened and the plan was not carried out.

In 1810, the Retreat had purchased premises in Lawrence Street for the use of its convalescent patients. After using the Appendage—as this home was styled—for twelve years, it was deemed wise to give it up, and the premises then purchased by the Trustees of the School Fund were rented by William Simpson for the purposes of a day and boarding-school. This he carried on for six years. It does not fall within the plan of this sketch to describe William Simpson's school. Some of his scholars have become notable men, though his educational methods, if tradition has not magnified their oddities, must have been grotesque.

Grove House School, Tottenham, had been established under the superintendence of Thomas Binns, in 1828, for the sons of Friends in affluence. Before going to Tottenham, Henry Tuke had been a pupil at Richard L. Weston's private school, Boley Hill, Rochester. There his father, Samuel Tuke, had become acquainted with a junior master who in 1815 had left Ackworth and entered the profession of teaching. Dressed in small-clothes, with rough woollen stockings, revelling in the natural charms of the valley of the Medway, storing his memory with poetry and hymns, as well as writing verses himself, a somewhat random talker, excitable, having warm personal likings and dislikings, but, withal, able to rule and to teach, was then John Ford—the future Superintendent, for thirty-seven years, of York School. He had entered into negotiations with William Simpson, with a view to carrying on the School as a private undertaking. In the course of 1828, however, the Quarterly Meeting, on the suggestion of Samuel Tuke, determined to take the School into its own hands, and John Ford, with the prospect of being appointed its Superintendent, gladly and wisely relinquished the idea of carrying it on himself.

Reverting again to the proposed school of 1818, it is observable that the principles laid down by its promoters were liberal and comprehensive. The printed prospectus adopted by

the Quarterly Meeting starts from the position that the making of provision in its schools for all classes of its members, is the duty of the Church. The good men of 1818 proposed to themselves an institution for 50 or 60 boys, paying £45 per annum, learning Latin and French, with the opportunity of acquiring Greek and Hebrew on an additional payment. They designed, in fact, to supply for the middle and higher classes of Friends in Yorkshire, a moral and religious discipline after the manner of Ackworth, combined with a much wider literary curriculum. The scheme of William Tuke, after ten years' interval, became a reality under the auspices of his grandson. The names of the first committee were: John Hipsley, Samuel Tuke, Newman Cash, John Rowntree, James Backhouse, Robert Jowitt, William Rowntree, John Hustler, William Harding, William Alexander, John Yeardley, Joseph Rowntree, Leonard West, and Luke Howard. Samuel Tuke acted as Treasurer; he was succeeded by Henry Hipsley in 1855; and on his resignation in 1864, John Casson was appointed. Joseph Rowntree took the post of Secretary in 1829, and with one year's interval, when Thomas Backhouse held the pen, retained it to his death in 1859. Since that event the writer of this sketch has filled the post. . . .

The fifty years of the School's history naturally divide into two periods. That at Lawrence Street from 1829 to 1845 inclusive, extends over seventeen years; whilst thirty-three—1846 to 1879—have elapsed since the institution took up its home in Bootham.

During the first period the size of the School varied considerably. In 1830 there were forty-five boarders, and seven day scholars; in 1842 there were but thirty-six boarders. The terms were fixed in 1830 at £30 per annum and £2 2s. extra for each foreign language learnt, and for drawing. The actual average payment was about £35. By ten successive changes the terms have risen, till, in 1878, the average payment per boy reached £58, of which £17 8s. was expended in remuneration of teachers. The corresponding amount in 1830 was £6 4s. It has been noted already that

the premises in Lawrence Street were not erected for a school, and as will hereafter appear the site was condemned in 1845 as unfitted for a school.* In its earlier days it was supposed to possess many advantages. Within three minutes' walk were the Foss Islands—a delightful skating-ground in winter, ere sanitary reformers drained them; in summer, rich in treasures dear to the botanist and conchologist. Within easy walk along the Hull Road, was Heslington field, then unenclosed and affording ample scope for botanical and entomological research. For longer rambles were Low Moor and Tilmire, and above all, Langwith. "How many there are," says a scholar whom I shall again quote, "to whom the remembrance of Langwith will bring back a rush of pleasant thoughts, and make them perhaps for the moment sigh that they are not still boys, and able as then to drink in, with the freshness of a boy's delight, a draught of the elixir of childhood."

Not a furlong from the school-house stood the residence of Samuel Tuke, with whom John Ford maintained an almost daily intercourse in the first years of his superintendency. In these days Barbara Waller, a most efficient and managing woman, acted as housekeeper. She was sister to Robert Waller, Samuel Tuke's partner; and when efforts to obtain a housekeeper failed, she kindly came as a temporary helper and so continued till a few months before John Ford's marriage in 1837. And the Superintendent needed all the support he could get from his officers. His staff of teachers, as compared with later times, was numerically weak, and sometimes not strong in intellectual or moral calibre. The provision for the training of teachers amongst Friends was at this time very meagre, and it was impossible to get Friends qualified to teach all the different classes.

It may be convenient here to group in chronological order various disconnected events occurring during the Lawrence Street period. By an early minute of the Committee it would

* The second volume of *The Observer* contains two articles, by Silvanus Thompson, descriptive of the old School.

seem that at first some of the boys slept in double beds. Single beds were introduced throughout the School in 1829. The school-rooms were first lighted with gas in 1830. 1831 is signalised by the establishment of the Girls' School in Castlegate, under the superintendence of Hannah Brady. Henceforth the visits of brothers to No. 1, Castlegate, became a regular institution. The next year was that in which Asiatic cholera was epidemic in this country. The two schools broke up earlier than usual in consequence, and no examination was held. There is a record that, in 1833, *Butter's Spelling* book was first used. On August 14th, 1834, the Natural History Society was founded—of this more presently. On January 27th, 1835, steel pens were first employed. What a happy deliverance to the previous quill-pen maker! In the same year Edwin Moore began his labours as Drawing Master. John Ford's marriage in 1837 has been already named. The Workshop was built the same year. In the annual report a memorandum occurs for the first time of the numbers learning different foreign languages. There were forty-six boys in the School, forty-two learning Latin, thirty-three French, ten Greek, and six German. The changed estimation in which the German language is now held is observable. In the prospectus of 1818, German is not named along with French, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. William Simpson professed to teach Latin, French, Hebrew, Greek, and Italian. He is silent about German. In 1830, two boys only learnt German; in 1877, out of a school of sixty-five boys, all learning Latin and French, all but one learnt German, forty-three Greek. In 1839, an attack of smallpox is recorded. In 1840, the subject of winter vacations is mooted, and they are decided against. The next year the Committee minutes mention the health of the School as causing solicitude; but the premises are thought quite salubrious. In 1842, the resolution to leave Lawrence Street was arrived at. In 1844, the Bootham property was purchased, and the School removed there on the 29th of January, 1846. Two hundred and eighty-one boys had entered the School between 1829 and 1846.

In a letter to the editor of John Ford's memoir, James H. Tuke reviews the early years of the administration in Lawrence Street. He refers to the general absence of corporal punishment, and says that in this the School was ahead of public opinion. But that "this government was one which worked easily in all cases, or to the equal satisfaction of all concerned, it would be a mistake to suppose. Many would have preferred a good flogging to the prolonged interviews or long sittings in the library, or in seclusion. There was also, which I have no doubt John Ford struggled hard to overcome (and did to a large extent overcome in later years), . . . great irregularity 'of temper,' and at times much petulance was shown. . . . Whilst some carelessness or want of attention was one day treated with good temper, and some allowance made for the stupidity or infirmity of the boy, the same offences were on another day treated with undue harshness, and a class might be suddenly sent to its place, or a book sent at the head of a poor fellow stammering over his Latin or French, which it is needless to say only increased his difficulty and made the lessons an object of dread and aversion." "On the other hand," says the same writer, "the sunny days were really delightful ones. To the stupid boy, John Ford would explain the lesson as few others could, so clearly and kindly, that he must needs understand it, and what brought tears one day, caused a smile then. . . . Most delightful also under such influences were the excursions or long walks, when, gathering around John Ford, he would be the centre of all that amused or interested us—a good joke, a good natural quizz, an apt quotation, a few lines of poetry, a race or a jump in which we were of course beaten. Then his deep interest in Natural History, and his quick observation, helped to strengthen and form that love of nature which has always been so prominent a feature in York School."

The two extracts just read very fairly portray the most characteristic weaknesses and excellences of the early days of John Ford's government. They are the two sides of the same shield. They explain the different sentiments towards the

School entertained by those who were its early inmates. Some boys of robust frame, high spirits, and well strung nerves were thoroughly happy ; others shy, sensitive or timid, suffered much for want of a more steady equable government.

As years elapsed the tone of the government did rise. Even before the removal to Bootham, the School was enjoying in consequence increased public esteem. We should be disposed to attribute John Ford's growth as a teacher, in the first place, to the progressive work of Divine grace in his heart. Then it is difficult to exaggerate the beneficent influence of his happy marriage with Rachel Robson, in 1837. In the same year he became one of the first secretaries of the Friends' Educational Society. A long summer day was henceforth annually spent at Ackworth, when weighty educational problems were discussed with rare ability in the circle—now so nearly gone—that then met there. These discussions, and the attendant investigations involved, were fruitful in results, both as regards the Superintendent and the Committee of York School. Samuel Tuke and his ancestors had been great founders and supporters of institutions. As he grew older he became increasingly alive to the defects of educational and ecclesiastical machinery for dealing with the varied problems of human character, and with conspicuous success he sought to enunciate the true principles of Christian education, whether at school or in the home.* Simultaneously, the mind of my father, the late Joseph Rowntree, was much occupied in investigating the results of boarding-school education among Friends so far as such results are capable of tabular or statistical expression. In 1843, assisted by correspondents in all parts of the country, he collected particulars of the after-life of many hundreds of Ackworth scholars. The results disclosed were disappointing. Educational machinery might, he believed, attain better moral and religious ends than it was doing. He became more than ever convinced that the quality of the teaching power is the prime factor in the educational capacity of a school. Inferiority in quality and insufficiency of quantity had been at

* See Samuel Tuke's *Five Papers*.

the root of much of that chronic antagonism between teachers and scholars which was the normal and baneful condition of many schools. The Quarterly Meeting School Fund had already done something towards promoting the training of teachers, and their remuneration had been much increased. The annual report for 1842 speaks with much satisfaction of the whole staff in Lawrence Street being for the first time Friends. Silvanus Thompson and Till Adam Smith had both entered in 1841. A few years later, York School reaped much benefit from the work of the Flounders Institute—seven out of the first eleven students were teachers in Bootham. Nor must we omit to notice one other event that greatly influenced John Ford and the school he governed, as also half the schools in Britain. In 1844, the first edition of Dr. Arnold's memoirs appeared. When the volumes came into John Ford's hands, they wrought on his susceptible nature with great power. He did not imitate all Arnold's methods —from some he entirely dissented,—but the ideal of a Christian school as portrayed by him, the spirit of Rugby's great master, his sermons, and his sayings were constantly present in John Ford's thoughts for the remainder of his life. Thus, as has been already said, not merely was John Ford's religious character progressive, but his whole nature broadened and deepened, whilst his professional aptitude as an instructor grew with practice. Thus it came to pass that at the time the School moved into better premises, a combination of influences united to raise its internal tone and its general efficiency.

It is time to tell how the migration from Lawrence Street to Bootham came about. In 1841, five young men who had been contemporaries at Lawrence Street in 1840 died at their respective homes. The circumstance may probably have been in great degree accidental ; but it strongly directed attention to the sanitary condition of the Lawrence Street premises. It was, too, a day of sanitary reform. The laws of health were better understood. Men were calculating how many cubic feet of atmospheric air boys needed to live in by day and to sleep in by night, and the supply at Lawrence Street was short. After protracted

consultation, the determination to leave Lawrence Street was arrived at. The Quarterly Meeting reaffirmed its decision of 1828 to keep the control of a middle-class school in its own hands, and determined to solicit donations towards the cost of new premises. These were found at last in Bootham, and the mansion of Sir John Johnstone, of Hackness, near Scarborough, passed into the possession of the trustees of the Society of Friends. The cost was moderate. Donations exceeding £2,700 came in, and when surplus land had been sold, and the new buildings and alterations had been completed, there was but a debt of £1,600 on the estate. The winter of 1846 was signalised by a special vacation, the boys leaving the old premises on the 8th of January, and re-assembling in Bootham on the 29th. No longer did ailing boys look out from "Ann's room" on the Barbican, re-built in 1684, after the Civil Wars. No longer on "First" and "Fourth" days did the long string of boys pass to and fro through Walmgate, oft-times assailed by the abusive tongues of its juvenile population. No longer was the "prog-woman" to visit the lower class-room on "Seventh-day" afternoons, nor the free-traders of those days to strike for proggish liberty. George Boocock ceased to clip hair in Lawrence Street with his wonted deliberation. Old Hargraves—*amicus amicorum*—suspended his visits with his pack and budget of news from the boys' homes. "Mother Kidd" no longer dealt in goods "suspected to be run."

The change from Lawrence Street to Bootham was evidently acceptable to parents. The admission list became crowded, and exact regulations were framed as to the order in which the names were to be taken. The priority accorded to Yorkshire names was slightly modified. Another influence which helped to crowd the School in the course of a few years was the tide of national prosperity called forth by the repeal of the Corn Laws—an event in which one of William Simpson's scholars bore so notable a part. Friends, being mostly engaged in trade, reaped their full share of this prosperity, and it has been creditable to their intelligence that they have devoted part of their increased wealth to the higher education of their children. This accounts,

in part at least, for the prosperity of quite a group of schools conducted for nearly the same class as that for which in 1829 York School was almost the only provision.

The closing months of 1847 were months of anxiety and sadness from the prevalence of epidemic disease. A winter vacation was allowed in consequence. The assembling of the School in the summer of 1849 was delayed by the presence of Asiatic cholera in the country. This year a winter vacation became a regular institution. It commenced after Christmas and lasted a fortnight. In 1856, a proposal to prolong it was discussed and rejected. The next year the winter vacation began on the 18th December. In 1859, the winter vacation ceased to be permissive, and lasted three weeks and five days. In 1874, it became four weeks and five days. Hence, the actual school year is now (1879) less than forty-one weeks. In 1829, it was forty-seven.

Reverting to our chronological notes, examinations by written answers to printed questions came into vogue in 1847 and 1848. In 1850, the School obtained possession of the Observatory and excellent astronomical apparatus which were mostly paid for by donations. John Ford was moved to stir in the matter, firstly by the loss of the transit instrument which had been lent for several years by Joseph Pease and was now transferred to the Flounders Institute, and by the offer of £100 from Samuel Gurney, who visited Yorkshire by appointment of the Yearly Meeting, and was much interested in the acquaintance he then formed with the School.

The esteemed French master, Charles Cæsar de Meuron, suddenly died in the summer of 1852. This was a prosperous period in the School's history. Its finances flourished and its debt was considerably reduced. In the autumn of this year, tea was introduced as the boys' beverage at their morning and evening meals: a change of doubtful benefit, but one demanded by public opinion. The spring of 1855 had been an anxious time, from the presence of scarlatina, leading to the dispersion of the School. The next year came a visitation of measles, bringing deep sorrow in its

train through its fatal result in the case of Joseph H. Bewley. He was, we believe, the third boy who died in the institution during its fifty years' history.

In the summer of 1856, important changes took place in the staff of teachers. Fielden Thorp entered as First Class teacher, William Robinson and Till Adam Smith left. The latter had been fifteen years in the service of the institution, and its prosperity had been promoted by his energy and force of character. The late Henry Vincent styled T. A. Smith "a fossil Tory." Undoubtedly his proclivities, both political and ecclesiastical, were conservative. But he was an independent thinker, and could welcome new ideas in science and literature. He was a good teacher, and won and retained the friendship of many of his pupils. The books and bookcase given him on his retirement were a well-merited tribute to his worth. And here let me say a word on a work which is a lasting monument of his industry and ability. In 1850, a manuscript school periodical, *The Observer*, was started under Till Adam Smith's editorship, and has been sustained to the present day, under the successive editorship of Fielden Thorp, Thomas Walton, John F. Fryer, Silvanus P. Thompson and William Edward Waller.* In looking afresh through some of the early numbers, their ability and varied interest are very apparent. The frontispiece to vol. ii. from the pen of Henry Tuke is capital, and as is aptly said in the text, "fulle of righte wittie conceits." . . . . .

The anxieties and sorrows of 1855 and 1856 led to the withdrawal of John and Rachel Ford from residence at the School in the summer of 1857, Fielden Thorp becoming resident master, and Sarah Robinson superintending the domestic arrangements. The following year the suite of school-rooms was increased by the building of a new class-room at the north end of the teachers' sitting-room. 1858 will be interesting to the friends of total abstinence, as the last year in which any entry under the head of wine and beer appears in the accounts.

* In December, 1891, the late Benjamin Le Tall succeeded to the editorship, and in June, 1892, Arthur Rowntree, the present editor.—[EDITOR.]

This item had amounted to as much as £36 in a year, and dwindled to 9s. before it disappeared. The erection of warm baths, after being under consideration for some time, was carried out in 1860 at an outlay of £455. The next year the infrequent entry occurs of the receipt of a gift of £50, from the late Robert Tindal. We may pass lightly over the purchase of more land in 1864, and come to 1865, at the close of which John Ford finally retired from the superintendence, and Fielden and Amy Jane Thorp became heads of the institution.* It will be fresh in the remembrance of many that, in the autumn of 1866, John Ford was entertained at dinner by his old scholars in these rooms, receiving from them various tokens of their affectionate regard. With what cordiality and tact did Thomas Whitwell preside on that occasion. How we miss his manly presence amongst us to-day!

The year 1865 was signalised by an examination of the School by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners. Minute inquiries as to the character of the education given, the classes of society contributing to the School, the fees paid, and other details, were replied to, both by the Superintendent and by the Secretary of the Committee. By the wish of the Commissioners, J. G. Fitch, Esq., visited both the Girls' and Boys' Schools. He said in his report :—

"There are two institutions in the city of York which have been established for the use of the richer members of the Society, and in which a more advanced education is given. At Bootham, in York, there are fifty-nine pupils, all of whom are boarders. There are five resident masters. There I found fifteen of the pupils reading Greek, twenty-four learning German, while all except four of the youngest had commenced Latin and French. The classical course includes prose composition, but not versification. In point of grammatical accuracy, and in knowledge of the meaning of the more familiar writers, as Horace, Xenophon, and Livy, the boys at Bootham were on a par with pupils of the best grammar schools. Their general English and scientific education, however, was far more extensive. Modern History, English Literature, and Mathematics received far more than the usual share of attention; while the provision

* In 1875, these Friends were succeeded by John F. and Isabella C. Fryer, and, in 1899, by Arthur and Ellen H. Rowntree, the present heads of the School.—[EDITOR].

made for the systematic study of Natural Science is more ample than in any school I ever visited. There is an excellent Observatory, erected and furnished at a cost of nearly £300, in which the boys are accustomed to make and register astronomical observations. In Chemistry, Botany, and Animal Physiology, regular courses of conversational lectures are given, which are amply illustrated by diagrams and experiments, and duly supplemented by book work."

After describing the Mount School, Mr. Fitch concludes, "Next to the gentleness of the moral discipline, nothing characterises the schools of the Society of Friends more than the style of the teaching which prevails in them all. I noticed on the part of all the teachers a professional aptitude, and a skill in oral explanation, and in collective teaching, which are very unusual in higher schools. I attribute this to the fact that the Friends are the only religious body in which there is a distinct recognition of the need for training, and a definite provision to meet that need."

. . . Lovell Squire came to Lawrence Street as a teacher in the summer of 1829. Amongst other ways of interesting the boys in Natural History, he wrote out monthly a little periodical called *The Naturalist*. Probably it recorded such achievements as the discovery of *Listera cordata* at Langwith, and of *Crocus vernus*—alas! long since disappeared—on Knavesmire. In 1834, Lovell Squire left York, but the seed he had sown flourished, and in the harvest-tide of that year the Natural History Society was formed, John Ford being President; Thomas M. Hope, Vice-President; Henry Pickering, Treasurer; Thomas Richardson, Secretary; Thomas Allis, Henry Baines, Lovell Squire, and Giles Munby, Honorary Members. John King has kindly lent me the original minutes recording the foundation of the Society. Amongst the first office-bearers occur the names of John W. Cash, Henry Ellis, James Wilson, Thomas Spence, Joseph Taylor, John King, Robert Crewdson Jowitt, Alfred H. Spence, and Abram G. Davis. The Society has lived on and done an excellent work down to the present day. There have been fashions as respects the department of Natural History studied—sometimes botany has been in the ascendant—sometimes conchology or entomology. Sometimes all have received a fair share of attention, and sometimes all have flagged. We remark, in the report of 1848, a paragraph,

evidently written by John Ford, affirming his continued attachment to the Association as the result of observation on its auxiliary effects in education, extending the range of rational and interesting pursuit, inducing habits of "inquiry and observation, order and arrangement, greatly to be prized in the common concerns of life." The after experience of many confirms this testimony. Our Latin has nearly fled, we might perhaps be plucked over a simple equation, but the love of plants, of shells, insects, or birds grows with longer years, and what little aptitude any acquired in the Essay meeting, serves them in good stead almost every day. That "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her" was the faith of Wordsworth, and has become the faith of many from what they have learnt in Lawrence Street and Bootham. Within the last two years the *Natural History Journal*, edited by J. Edmund Clark, B.Sc., has kept its readers informed of the pursuits of the pupils in this and other schools, and shows that the good work is sustained in perhaps a more intelligent spirit than formerly.

Contemporary history, it has been said, is a species of stale news. Unwilling to be a purveyor of such a commodity, we shall give but the briefest notice of school history for the past ten years. It may be worth recording that in 1865 the *Sequel* was laid aside as a reading-book. It had survived *The English Reader* five years. The *Introduction* sustains a lingering existence, but the present generation of school-boys is almost ignorant of those compilations of Lindley Murray's with which their fathers were so familiar. His grammar was gradually superseded after 1860. In connection with literary changes, it may here be mentioned that the new pronunciation of Latin was begun about 1871, and in a year or two after, all the boys were talking about *Kikero*.

In 1871, Fielden Thorp left the school-house, being succeeded by John F. Fryer as resident master. Fielden Thorp relinquished the superintendence in 1875. The autumn of the previous year had also been marked by the retirement of Silvanus Thompson—after a service of thirty-three years. A number of his scholars

indicated their appreciation of his faithful labours. In 1875, John Ford died.

The last three years have seen increased attention devoted to preparation for examinations. Philip Thompson, in 1865, was the first Bootham scholar who went direct from the School to the matriculation examination of London University. In 1876, 1877, and 1878, eleven boys matriculated. The Science and Art examinations of South Kensington and those of the Cambridge University Extension Scheme have also been submitted to by many of the boys with much success. This is an age of examinations and inspections. Whilst some homage is due to public opinion, let me here put in a plea that in the future, as in the past, York School may not rely on the shining but often misleading results of examinations, but that it will maintain a policy of its own, and especially not allow Natural History to be elbowed out. There are always more boys dull than clever, and it should be the ambition of the true teacher that this majority be at least as carefully taught as the minority.

And here this imperfect chronicle must end. The preparation of it has been a work of love and of great interest to the writer. Had time allowed, I should like to have spoken on other matters that have had to be passed in silence—of games, for instance ; of cricket pursued up to 1846 on a field behind Lawrence Street, now covered with houses ; of the recent gift of a pavilion for the use of the players at Bootham ; of football, not allowed till October 13th, 1862, when, after a visit to Rugby, John Ford introduced it and gave the first "kick off." The finances of the School present many points of interest. In these days of stoppages and insolvency, it might have been gratifying to have told of a turn-over of above £120,000 with bad debts of less than fifty pounds. Again, a few paragraphs on the servants of the institution would have been interesting. The first man who cleaned knives and boots became a B.A. of Dublin University ; the second a Congregational minister ; the third, now a retired gentleman living on his property, we have had the pleasure of welcoming amongst us to-day. It would have been gratifying

to have recognised the faithful labours of nurses like Ann Land and Jane Maltby. Again, there are other friends of the School whose names have hardly been mentioned. How much have the Natural History pursuits of the boys been indebted to Thomas Allis and to James Backhouse—father and son—all eminent in their respective walks. William Alexander instituted the system of account-keeping still pursued. David Priestman was so useful at the time of the removal to Bootham in planning and overseeing the alterations, that he was known as "the commissioner of woods and forests." Dr. Williams, in his double capacity of medical attendant and member of the Committee, Joseph Spence, John and Samuel Priestman, Benjamin Seebohm, John Hipsley, Edward Smith and many others all rendered good service.

Any historian interested in his theme is liable to the besetment of unduly magnifying its importance. Tennyson's sententious lines, "Ye think the rustic cackle of your bourg, the murmur of the world," have often recurred as a warning against this besetment. Yet we think the experience of fifty years indicates that the founders of this School in 1829 did not over-estimate the influence it might exert. As respects their own Quarterly Meeting, 335 of the 967 boys, or 35 per cent., have come from within its limits.

Some of those who have been pupils here are no longer connected with the Society of Friends, but with the same cordiality with which we desire that Church or Nonconformist schools may be *good* schools, can they join in desiring the continued prosperity of this—that it may do its part in fulfilling the prayer yet heard in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, "that there never may be wanting a supply of men duly qualified to serve God both in Church and State."

So, linking the sister-institution on the Mount with that in Bootham, we appropriate to them the words of Whittier :—

> Long live the good schools! giving out year by year
> Recruits to true manhood and womanhood dear:
> Brave boys, modest maidens, in beauty sent forth,
> The living epistles and proof of their worth! *

* Adapted from *The Quaker Alumni.*

CHAPTER X.

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF FRIENDS.*

IT was sometimes remarked a few years ago that Friends had lost their interest in their own schools, and would now only subscribe freely to Home and Foreign Missions, and to distinctly religious work. The present writer never accepted this view, and its want of foundation has been shown by the munificent donations recently given to the Friends' schools in England and Ireland. The formation of Old Scholars' Associations in connection with almost all these institutions, and the extension of their work, are indications in the same direction. We therefore approach the discussion of our subject from the standpoint of one who believes the Society, as a whole, to be thoroughly interested in education, and desirous to secure the efficiency of its teaching machinery. At the same time there is reason to think that this is not in all respects so satisfactory as could be desired, and various suggestions are made from time to time for its modification. It is probably true that some of the educational zeal, to which we have borne witness, does in a sense run to waste. The ground for profitable discussion will be cleared if the objects aimed at in the Friends' education can be defined, and the persons intended to be benefited determined. The methods to be adopted depend substantially upon the view that may be taken on these points.

Perhaps the first fact which impresses one in reviewing the educational provision of the Society is the smallness of the

* Reprinted, with additions, from the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* of April, 1900, with a supplement from *The Friend* of 30th of June, 1899.

constituency from which its schools are recruited. The total number of children in all the Friends' schools in the United Kingdom is smaller than that in some single Board Schools. And, further, a very appreciable proportion of the pupils in the Society's schools are not Friends by membership or profession. These facts induced a writer in the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner** to advocate the closing of one or more of the schools, a proposal which was resisted chiefly on the ground that these institutions afford a field for missionary labour, not less promising than those in which many Friends are working in Mohammedan or heathen communities. Small, however, as is the number of young people connected with Friends in this country, their right education is on that account only the more important. The cardinal matters for consideration would seem to be three :—

(1) What is the character and the extent of the Society's educational duty to its young people ?

(2) How far is this duty performed ?

(3) What steps are required to make the performance of this duty more efficient ?

(1) "The right education of youth" was one of the primary objects of the early meetings for discipline.† The subject is discussed at some length in the Yearly Meeting Epistle of 1709, a portion of which appears in *Christian Discipline* :—

"Where Friends want ability in the world, their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings are desired to assist them ; that the children of the poor may have due help of education, instruction, and necessary learning ; and that children (both of rich and poor) may be early provided with industrious employments, that they may not grow up in idleness, looseness, and vice, but that, being seasoned with the Truth, sanctified of God, and taught our holy self-denying way, they may appear a reputation to our holy profession, the comfort of their honest parents, instrumental to the glory of God, and the good of the generations coming on."‡

Though not specifically stated in so many words, the foregoing passage virtually recognises the principle that the education of

* 1897, page 503. † *Christian Discipline*, ii., xviii.
‡ *Christian Discipline*, ii., 72.

all the children of Friends is a matter in which the Society is interested. The line of membership was not very clear in 1709, and the almost family relationship which existed at that time amongst those who made a common profession of faith and practice, led them to take cognisance even of much smaller matters than that of education. It appears to us that the principle enunciated is a true one, and that it should underlie the whole educational policy of Friends. The method of its application must necessarily vary. A Query, laid aside in 1875, formerly served to keep alive the recognition of the principle of which we are speaking:—"Are the necessities of the poor amongst you properly inspected and relieved; and is good care taken of the education of their offspring?" It was probably quite unintentional that the withdrawal of this question should lessen the attention given to education, and it is true that kindred inquiries do find a place in Queries VI. and XI., but they are less definite, and the discontinuance of the answering of all the Queries may have further tended to leave the whole subject in an indefinite shape in the minds of Friends. "Do those who have children . . . train them up as self-denying followers of the Lord Jesus?" "Do you as a Church exercise a loving and watchful care over your younger members, promoting their instruction in fundamental Christian truth, and in the Scriptural grounds of our religious principles?" * The first of these questions is chiefly suggestive of home teaching, whilst the second refers principally to young persons above the school age. We think then that the extent of the Society's educational duty reaches out to all the children of its people, and that the character of the education given will be dominated by the nature of its own conception of Christian truth. To this we will return later.

(2) In considering how far the Society is practically recognising the principle we have been defining, it will be desirable to take note of a great change which has been progressive during

* This Query now reads so as to include all young people regularly associated with Friends in public worship, whether in membership or not, as follows:—"Do you, as a Church, exercise a loving and watchful care over the young people in your different congregations," &c.—[EDITOR.]

many years in the numbers of children joining the Society in Great Britain through birth, or admission as minors. It will not be necessary to bring forward many figures; the salient facts are apparent on contrasting the relative membership and number of births at the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century, and in 1861, the year when these figures were first collected and published by London Yearly Meeting:—

	Members.	Attenders.	Total.	Births.		Admission as Minors.
				Members.	Non-Members.	
1799	19,800	8,000	27,800	486	204	
1861	13,844	3,190	17,034	283		11
1899	17,031	7,904	24,935	157		60

The broad facts apparent are that a hundred years ago the children annually entering the Society in Britain were about 500, that by the middle of the century the number had declined to about 300, and at its close to 220. At the same three periods the admissions of adults on application were respectively "fewer than 50," 69, and 294. A century ago 90 per cent. of the persons entering the Society were children; now they are about 40 per cent. Several reasons have contributed to bring about these changes, the chief being the increase in the numbers of persons applying for admission, and the diminution in the numbers of children registered as members consequent on the increased number of families in which one parent only is in membership.*

By a recent enumeration in one Monthly Meeting of about five hundred members, *i.e.* one thirty-fourth of London Yearly Meeting, it has been ascertained that the number of children of school age not in membership exceeds that of those in membership, and this is now probably the case throughout Great Britain. The figures in the recent Tabular Statements would lead one to anticipate a majority of non-member children, and the proportion must be increased annually. There must be many hundreds of Friend children of school age whose names are not upon the

* See *Christian Discipline*, "Membership," ii., 16.

Society's registers. Over a large proportion of these the Society is, we believe, exercising but a slight educational influence. In the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for 1897* a return was given showing that in eight English Friends' schools there were then 448 members, 159 connected with Friends, 233 unconnected, and 81 vacancies; total school places, 921. The present figures are not very different. Including the schools at Leighton Park and at York, there will be in all about 600 pupils Friends, and 450 not Friends, 200 of whom may probably be connected. Evidently there are some hundreds of children, one parent at least being a member, not in the Friends' schools.† For this state of things there are several reasons:—

(*a*) The Society's public schools do not as a rule admit children not in membership on the same terms as members.

(*b*) The Society's officers, the Overseers, do not consider themselves charged with the duty of seeing to the education of non-member children.

(*c*) The excellence of the Board School teaching and of that of the middle-class High Schools has lessened the desire for education in the Friends' schools, and indisposed many parents to make the pecuniary sacrifices required for obtaining it.

Here is the explanation of the parodoxical fact that a Society of 17,000 persons is apparently supplying fewer children for its public schools than did one of 14,000. This is very unsatisfactory, and unpromising for the future of the Society. The great improvement in the general standard of popular education is a matter of congratulation, but we cannot anticipate that the outcome in character will be that which Friends desire, where literary instruction is not associated with spiritual Christian teaching in the home or the school, or in both. The Friends' children at the Board Schools are frequently less favourably circumstanced as respects religious instruction than those of other denominations, inasmuch as the great majority of these attend the Sunday schools of the

* Page 504.

† A return made in 1900 showed that there were then 1,846 children in membership, and 1,161 children one or both of whose parents were members, between the ages of five and fifteen years.—[EDITOR.]

body with which their parents are associated. We submit then that the answer to this branch of our inquiry must be that the Society at the present time is by no means concerning itself, as it ought to do, in the education of all its children.

(3) And this brings us to the consideration how the Society can more efficiently exert an enlightened and helpful influence over the education of its children. The first step would seem to be that the Yearly Meeting should very distinctly reaffirm the principle that it desired for all the children associated with it an education that should be religious, in the simple, spiritual and practical sense in which Friends use the word.* The questions suggested in Queries VI. and XI. might be expanded and made more definite, so as distinctly to include both home and school teaching. May we venture the suggestion that the last clause of Query VI. be withdrawn from its present position, and that Query XI. should run :—"Do you as a Church exercise a loving and watchful care over all the children of your members, encouraging parents by the ministries both of the home and the school to train up their offspring as self-denying followers of the Lord Jesus, instructing them in fundamental Christian truth and in the reasons for our religious faith and practice ?" Correspondingly, paragraph 17 of the Advices might be expanded :—"Watch with Christian tenderness over the opening minds of your children, whether at home, at school, or at college. Let them be carefully instructed in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures ; inure them to habits of self-restraint and filial obedience ; and seek for ability to imbue their hearts with the love of their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, and their Sanctifier."

If the Society heartily accepted the principle we have indicated, it would then find methods for giving practical expression to its concern. Some modification of existing regulations, or practice, as respects membership might be required. There is no principle apparent in the present state of confusion by which, out of ten Friends' children, six may be non-members and four members.

* This suggestion has been carried out, and Query xi. has been enlarged in scope. See page 345*n*.—[EDITOR.]

There is no occasion to drift into a birthright membership discussion here, for so far as we observe there is practical agreement that children should have the nurture and privileges of Church association. The difference of opinion arises when consideration comes to be given to the procedure advisable when the young people cease to be children. That consideration lies outside the scope of the present paper, and may safely be left. But we are concerned with the status of children in the Society, and, to end the present anomalous state of things, we suggest :—

(*a*) That for educational purposes, unless the parents shall object, all the children of Friends be accounted members, though only one parent may be in membership.

(*b*) That in the forthcoming definition of the duties of Overseers, these Friends be invited to take a practical interest in the education of all the children belonging to their respective congregations.*

(*c*) That a carefully drawn declaratory minute be issued by the Yearly Meeting, affirming the principle that whilst the care of the poor and the education of children are duties which the Society feels it a privilege to recognise and assist in, no Friends possess the right to claim pecuniary assistance, when, in the judgment of the local meetings, their requirements are adequately met by the national provisions for poor relief or education.

In 1892 a scheme was approved by the Yearly Meeting which aimed at giving a Friends' boarding-school education to all the children of Friends. It failed for two reasons: (1) its costliness ; and (2) because of a widely-spread hesitation as to whether a boarding-school education is really the best for all children, particularly those coming from artisan homes. It always seemed regrettable to the present writer that a proposal affirmed in these strong terms by the Yearly Meeting lapsed in the way it did :—"This meeting recognises the vast importance of this subject, not only in its immediate relation to the children

* The Duties of Overseers, adopted by the Yearly Meeting of 1900, include "care of the poor, and careful thought for their children's education."—[EDITOR.]

themselves, but in its bearing upon the future well-being of our Society. This meeting approves the recommendations," etc.* It is, however, obvious that five hundred children might soon have come under the provision of the scheme, who would have required £10,000 a year finding for their education. We do not therefore think it possible, and we doubt whether it is desirable, to aim at giving a boarding-school education to all the children of Friends. It does, however, seem feasible for the education of every Friend's child to be a matter in which the Society is concerned and which it will help to promote. Instead of having one system for all, we would leave every case to be dealt with locally by parents and the Overseers. There would, we think, be many cases in which the Board School would supply all the literary teaching required. Then, to supplement the home religious teaching, we advocate the establishment of a First-day School for the children of Friends in every meeting where these are found.

Whilst believing it impossible for a small denomination to provide an education for all its children, quite independent of that furnished by the State, the example of the Roman Catholics, who keep such a hold on the education of their people's children, is very significant. They do this for a purpose which seems to us mischievous and derogatory to the true dignity of man. Could not Friends do the same for the very opposite object—that of nurturing their children in a spiritual, non-sacerdotal faith, giving the widest play to the principle of individual responsibility ? Whilst we believe there are many children who will not require a boarding-school course, it will no doubt be found that there are many others who, from the circumstances of their homes, their want of parental care, the absence of suitable local schools, and from other causes, are most advantageously brought up in boarding-schools. There are other cases in which a period at a Friends' school may usefully crown a day school course, for the child who has passed the fifth and sixth standards. Probably there might be a sufficient number of such scholars to keep the existing schools filled with children of the character for whom they were

* *Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting*, 1892, 36.

first instituted. And just as we believe the solution of the existing problem is to be found in local action, exerted through Monthly Meetings and their Overseers, so we would leave the question of funds to be dealt with in the same way. In the Monthly Meeting with which the present writer is most familiar there are five or six funds, all small, which are resorted to for educational purposes. Many such exist. It might, however, be necessary to establish in addition a central fund to be employed where no other source is available. Its administration should be placed in the hands of a small body interested in education, who are prepared to devote time and labour to their work.*

These suggestions are open to one obvious criticism—they would entail a great deal of labour. That is true. But it is for an object which deserves labour. Probably no part of the service of the Overseers might be more fruitful in results. Naturally a great deal would devolve upon the women in that station. The considerations that would continually come up in their conferences, whether A, B, and C would be most helped by being taught at the Board School or by going to one of the Friends' schools, would be of constant interest and importance. We should hope that Friends would be found who would be willing to devote no little time and thought to the matter. At present the devotion exhibited by the members of the Friends' school committees, probably some three hundred persons, is admirable; but one cannot but feel that it is somewhat disproportioned to the magnitude of the work. Members of School Boards dealing with thousands of children are apt to retire from the Friends' committees dealing only with scores or hundreds. The opinion is sometimes expressed that the Ackworth School Committee would be quite competent to administer all the work of the London School Board. At any rate, we think, with all the interest in education now pulsating through the Society of Friends, the

* The Friends' Educational Endowment Fund (administered by direction of the Central Education Committee) now has a capital of about £5,800. The income is, however, used for supplementing the salaries of teachers of ability and experience in the Society's boarding-schools.—[EDITOR.]

men and women should be found who would work out the principle that the education of all its children is a matter in which the Society is vitally interested.

Another department of the Friends' educational policy which deserves very careful thought is the character of the education given in the Society's schools, particularly on its religious side. The query often presents—what have been the results of the education given in the Friends' schools ? It is extremely difficult to generalise on the work of a century and a quarter. We think the literary and perhaps the moral results of some of our public schools have fully realised the hopes of their founders ; but, speaking generally, it must be admitted that few, if any, of these institutions have obviously strengthened the Society to the extent which had been hoped for and anticipated. This does not, however, imply that the fault has necessarily been with the schools, for (*a*) the founders' anticipations may have been unreasonable ; or (*b*) there may have been external influences over which the schools had no control, which went far to neutralise their work ; or (*c*) the work of the schools may have been fatally injured by neglect in early home training, or by deficient means for edification after school has been left.

We entertain no doubt that, as a matter of fact, all these and other influences that might be named have militated against the success of the Friends' schools, and that no review of their work will be fair or adequate which disregards them. Still, for our present purpose it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the subject further, for it will hardly be maintained by anyone that the religious teaching of the Friends' schools is incapable of improvement. That the character and methods of this teaching have undergone many changes in the last hundred and twenty years is familiar to everyone acquainted with the history of our schools. We believe these changes have been in the main wise, and that some of the methods formerly adopted were most unlikely to attain the ends desired. Still, the fact that many changes, largely suggested by the results of experience, have been made, raises a presumption that further improvement is attainable. The Friends'

schools have no *raison d'être* apart from their relationship to a religious society. If there are valid reasons demanding the maintenance of the Society of Friends, then the reasons are valid for maintaining its schools. And the converse must also be true. We have here to meet, and, if possible, to satisfy, two classes of objectors—(1) those who say "the days of denominational schools are past, our sympathies are with national public schools"; and (2) those teachers who avow that their ambition is to "turn out men and women, not Quakers." The answer to the first class of objectors is that practically the national schools they speak of are as denominational as, or more so than, those of the Friends; they are dominated by the Anglican conception of Christianity instead of by the more spiritual conception of the Friends. The answer to the second class of critics is that, whilst agreeing with them that the outcome of schools should be men and women, the question still remains—what sort of men and women? Christian men and women it will be generally conceded, for "a Christian is the highest style of man." But we press the inquiry one step further—what kind of Christian? There are manifestly forms of Christianity which do but illustrate Christ's words: "If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness." Such was the Christianity which praised God for the massacre of St. Bartholomew; such was the Christianity which hung Mary Dyer on Boston Common. Such is much of the continental Christianity of to-day which makes men agnostic and women superstitious. Very different should be the ideals aimed at in a Friends' school, and how to compass them deserves the best thought of our teachers. The subject might very well occupy an entire article, and cannot be discussed adequately at the end of this. Some of the American colleges are apparently more successful than most of our institutions in training Christian workers. A comparison of our methods and theirs might be suggestive.* In the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for 1899, p. 542,

* Many of the Friends' Colleges in America keep their students to twenty years of age and upwards, and are thus able to exert an influence which a school with a leaving age of sixteen or seventeen can hardly do.—[EDITOR.]

the complete change of opinion which has come over Friends with respect to the use of doctrinal catechisms for the inculcation of religious truth was pointed out. On recently referring to a paper on Religious Instruction, read before the Friends' Educational Society in 1839, we find it stated that Richard Allen's *Catechism* was then used in all the Friends' schools in Ireland (p. 16). The reasons for the disuse of catechisms are weighty, but we think sufficient attention has not been given to the provision of proper substitutes. It will hardly be a contentious proposition that it is the province of schools to teach facts, and in relation to Christian faith and practice what facts are more pertinent than those of the history of the Christian Church ? It is one of the merits of William Penn's introduction to Fox's *Journal* that he shows the connection between the whole history of the Christian Church and the rise of the Friends. He expands this thought in his *Primitive Christianity Revived.* Is not this the side from which the history of Friends and their whole position should be approached ? Is it not worthy of consideration whether, in schools for elder children particularly, the departmental system of teaching does not suggest a more careful instruction in Church history than is commonly given ; and whether there might not be a very useful place for special teachers or lecturers who should devote much of their time to this one subject ?

In conclusion, may we briefly restate the chief heads in the educational policy that has been advocated, adding one or two suggestions that do not call for discussion ?

(1) That the Society should distinctly affirm the position that it is interested in the education of *all* the children of its people ; and desires that they should enjoy an upbringing under conditions favourable to the formation of Christian character, whilst disclaiming liability, as a matter of obligation, to provide any particular form of poor relief or of education.

(2) That, to give practical effect to this desire :—

(*a*) The Queries and Advices be so modified as periodically to invite all Friends to consider the subject of the education of children in its relation both to parents and to the Society.

(*b*) That the Overseers be charged with the duty of giving constant attention to the educational needs of children, assisting parents in such ways as they may find to be desirable.*

(*c*) That the rules or usages affecting the membership of children be so modified as to place all the children of Friends, whether both or only one parent be in membership, on the same footing in respect to educational privileges.

(*d*) That one or more central educational bodies be created, or the present Central Education Board be strengthened, to supplement local efforts, and to promote unity of educational action throughout the Society ; such central educational council to be furnished with adequate funds.†

(*e*) This central body to report directly to the Yearly Meeting, which should devote one or more sessions to education every year ; these to take the place of the present Educational Conference.

(*f*) That First-day Schools for the children of Friends and attenders be established in every meeting where they do not exist, and in which children are to be found.

(3) That Friend teachers and school managers be urged to the continued consideration of the methods and conditions under which religious instruction is given, with the hope of making that instruction, both in boarding and in First-day Schools, more fruitful than it has hitherto been in fashioning character after the ideals of a spiritual, a practical, and a non-sacerdotal conception of the Christian faith.

It will be seen that these proposals involve the creation of very little fresh machinery. Their success would chiefly depend on the extent to which they were incorporated into the work of existing administrative bodies, particularly Monthly Meetings and the local Overseers. They contemplate the recognition of an easily-understood principle by the Society, which already

* Sections *b* and *f* in the list of Duties of Overseers, adopted by the Yearly Meeting of 1900, refer to this subject.—[EDITOR.]

† In 1902 the Central Education Board was reorganised on a representative basis, as the Central Education Committee. This body has, however, to provide its own funds. It carries out the suggestions made in (*e*).—[EDITOR.]

possesses the machinery for giving effect to it. They would, we believe, give unity and cohesion to the whole educational machinery of Friends, and might, under the Divine blessing, be greatly helpful to their schools, to their children, and to the whole Society.

The Relation of the Society of Friends to the Children of its Members.

The Yearly Meeting has now collected the figures which appear in the Tabular Statements for thirty-eight years. During this period the number of births reported exhibits a continuous decline, as will be seen from the following statement, compiled from the annual returns :—

Periods of five years.	Average No. of births reported to Y.M.	Admissions as minors	Total admissions of children.	Admissions of adults on application.
1861–65	269	38	307	91
1866–70	266	49	315	133
1871–75	241	53	294	140
1876–80	215	71	286	195
1881–85	184	51	235	222
1886–90	172	46	218	259
1891–95	158	57	215	266
Three years.				
1896–98	150	60	210	315

The most conspicuous fact disclosed by these figures is the small and constantly diminishing number of children now entering the Society. In 1800, with a membership of about 19,800, nearly 500 children (486) became members annually ; in 1898, with a membership of 17,031, the number had fallen to 150, or 210 if we add those admitted on the application of their parents. There was presumably some addition in this way in the earlier period, as the births of 200 non-members were then entered annually in the registers of the Society. If the figures are to be depended upon, it appears as if the number of children entering the Society now was only about one-third of what it was in 1800. Are the figures to be depended upon ? Some of them are startling.

We know the membership of London Yearly Meeting in 1861 was 13,844, and the reported births 288. A rule-of-three sum would lead us to expect more than 330 births in 1898, or twice the actual number returned. If the births amongst Friends equalled those in the population at large, the annual number would be about 500, or upwards of 700 if we include the attenders of meetings, not in membership. It is clear that the birth-rate amongst Friends is very much lower than in the general population.

The marriages according to the Friends' ceremonial are now almost as numerous as at the close of last century, when they averaged 100 per annum. The average of the past ten years has been 81, in the past three years 100. It may be well to give the figures respecting marriages for the same periods as those already given respecting births :—

Date.	Average No. of marriages by Friends' ceremonial.	Both parties members.	One party a member.	Neither party in membership.	Average No. of Friends married by other ceremonials.
1861–65	57	48	8	1	—
1866–70	57	51	2 ?	4	—
1871–75	53	38	13	2 ?	—
1876–80	61	34	21	6	36
1881–85	59	33	21	5	48
1886–90	61	30	23	8	47
1891–95	71	34	27	10	54
1896–98	100	42	40	18	57

It will be observed that the average number of marriages in which both parties are members is now less than 40 ; and as children are not registered as members except when both the father and mother are Friends,* the number of such children is not likely to exceed 40 per cent. of what it was a century ago. Still, even this would considerably exceed the actual number. We suspect, therefore, that the number of births reported is not complete. Some parents, on principle, do not place their children's names on the Society's register. But probably a stronger influence

* See *Christian Discipline*, ii., 16.

is the excellent national registration of births, which began in the summer of 1837. Before that date there were strong social and pecuniary inducements why Friends and those connected with them should see to the registration of their children by the Society. With the establishment of the national system these inducements lessened, and they have further diminished as the national system has familiarised itself to the usages of the people. A century ago the names of nearly 700 children were placed on the Friends' registers annually: in round figures—members 500, non-members 200. At the present time the whole number registered, members exclusively, is about 150. What then, is the significance of these facts ?

(*a*) That the membership of the Society, instead of being chiefly recruited by the admission of children through birth, is less and less dependent on accessions from this source.

(*b*) That the number of Friends' children not in membership is now probably much larger than that of those in membership.

(*c*) That the connection of the Society with the children of its members is less close than it formerly was.

(*d*) That the reason is obvious why at a former period Ackworth and Croydon Schools were filled with Friends' children, whilst now the institutions are able to admit large numbers unconnected with the Society.

(*e*) That the Society's register of births, reaching back to the time of the Commonwealth, now receives a diminishing number of entries.

PART IV.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER XI.

THE OUTLOOK FROM THE STATION HOTEL, YORK.*

PAINTING a morning view from Westminster Bridge, Wordsworth wrote :—

> Earth has not anything to show more fair ;
> Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
> A sight so touching in its majesty :
> This City now doth, like a garment, wear
> The beauty of the morning ; silent, bare,
> Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
> Open unto the fields, and to the sky ;
> All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
> Never did sun more beautifully steep
> In his first splendour, valley, rock, or hill ;
> Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep !
> The river glideth at his own sweet will :
> Dear God ! the very houses seem asleep ;
> And all that mighty heart is lying still !

If it be permissible to compare small things with great—if "beauty of the evening" be substituted for "beauty of the morning," and if we read "last" splendour instead of "first," the foregoing lines are appropriate to the view from the terrace in the York Station Hotel garden, on the evening of Whit Monday, 1880. It was one of those days that come, to our thinking, all too seldom in England. Sunday's rest followed by Monday's holiday had stopped the wonted outpour of smoke from steam

* A lecture delivered at the York Institute of Popular Science and Literature, 12th December, 1882. In a prefatory note the author described this lecture as "popular," not the result of original research, but containing information "gleaned from printed books and from conversations with different persons."—[EDITOR.]

engine chimneys, whilst the little that issued from household fires was blown away by the crisp east wind. Hence, as sunset approached, there was an atmospheric transparency uncommon in our climate, and every line of the Minster's architecture, and every twig on the freshly-leafed trees stood out as with stereoscopic distinctness, in the evening light. I was one of a party who had been celebrating an anniversary at the Station Hotel, and as we walked in the garden afterwards, the thought suggested itself that within the compass of the landscape before us were localities and buildings connected with many a page in history and biography, some notice of which might at a future time prove interesting to an audience of York citizens. In the summer of 1881 the artist of *The Graphic* newspaper made the fore-ground of this view the subject of a spirited sketch.

Let us, then, in the first place, take a general survey of the outlook before us, and then return to speak of some of its details. The Hotel faces almost due north. Close to it on the east lies the Cholera Burial Ground, and beyond it the outlook is bounded by the line of the City Walls, which presently dip towards the north, descending to North Street postern, disclosing the graceful curves of Lendal Bridge over-arching the Ouse. Across the river the view is bounded by the eastern side of Museum Street, the chimneys of the Club buildings and the roof of the Concert Room being notable amongst a wilderness of brick, stone and slate. In the background rise the Minster towers ; then, turning westward, the whole foreground is occupied with the gardens and buildings of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, the view beyond being narrowed by the roofs of the houses in St. Leonard's Place and Bootham. Further to the west the eye ranges over a wider space, and, beyond Marygate, the Scarborough Railway Bridge, St. Peter's School and Clifton, the distant horizon is bounded by the Hambleton Hills. On the right hand their southern escarpment is seen stretching away towards Wass Bank, whilst, on the left, west of Rolston Scar, they abruptly descend in height, and slope away towards Whitstone Cliff in the extreme north-west. Having now in briefest terms indicated the general bearings of

the outlook, and enumerated its main features, I will ask you to be so good as to retrace the path I have led you, from the Cholera Burial Ground on our right, to Whitstone Cliff on our left, and to accompany me whilst we descend from the Hambleton Hills, expecting in due time, as we work from west to east, to arrive again at the Cholera Cemetery.

The physiography of Yorkshire has been excellently described by Professor Phillips. His book, *The Rivers, Mountains, and Sea Coast of Yorkshire*, published in 1855, has not been superseded. *North Yorkshire*, by John Gilbert Baker, F.R.S., enters more minutely into the botany and physical geography of the North Riding. Both works may be consulted with advantage in reference to the geology of the oolitic range of the Hambletons, once evidently a sea-cliff, and now forming one boundary of the Vale of York. This great vale rarely rises two hundred feet above the sea level. The highest point of the Hambletons is Burton Head, 1,485 feet; Hambleton Head is 1,300 feet, whilst Whitstone Cliff is 1,078 feet above the sea. We cannot stop to discuss their geological peculiarities, nor to expatiate on the view from their summits, concerning which Wordsworth wrote a sonnet, though seemingly it was too dusk when he was there to allow of his seeing much excepting the cloud-effects of sunset. This prospect "whereof," says Wordsworth, "many thousands tell," recalls an anecdote illustrating the shrewd humour of a Yorkshire shepherd, who here chanced to encounter a cockney tourist. This gentleman opened the conversation with a remark on the extent of the landscape. "Yes," said the shepherd, "we see all the way to York, and on a clear day a deal farder." Counting on the ignorance of his companion, the tourist replied, "In very fine weather I suppose you can see America?" Taking the measure of the wag, the Yorkshireman made answer, "Tha' can see a deal farder." "What, further than America? No! no!" "They can though." "Why, what can they see?" "Why, mon, fra' Hambleton they can see to't moon on a moonsheany neet!"

Our stand-point by the Station Hotel is too nearly on a dead level with the twenty miles of country between it and the

foot of the Hambletons to allow of our distinguishing the intervening localities, excepting those which are almost close at hand. So still looking westward, say from the higher rooms of the Hotel, the eye rests on that wide meadow familiar to us all as Clifton Ings. Ings is an interesting word. It is marked obsolete in dictionaries, and hardly enters into the vocabulary of south-country Englishmen. Yet some scholars say it is the root of the name of England, and that in fact South Britain is not the land of the Angles, but the land of ings, that is, of meadows, which the word signifies. Eng, I am informed by Mr. Buckle, who lately delivered in this hall an interesting lecture on Dialects, is a pure Danish word in common use for a meadow. As the word is Teutonic, I presume Clifton Ings must have borne another name in Roman times, for it is said they then served as the Campus Martius, or Field of Mars, where the legionaries and colonists of Eburacum threw the discus or quoit, hurled the javelin, wrestled, boxed, and raced on foot or in chariots. So recently as in Queen Anne's days, horse-races were run on Clifton Ings, being removed to Knavesmire in the Georgian period.

Overlooking Clifton Ings, from the north, we observe the Elizabethan buildings of the North Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum, opened in 1847, and containing between 500 and 600 persons of unsound mind. It has been irreverently said that the staple commodities of York are lunatics and lollypops. It is pardonable for its citizens to remind their detractors that lunatics all the world over have occasion to rejoice in that humane treatment which was experimentally begun in York, and carried on here for several years before its promoters learnt that Pinel was dealing with the insane on very similar lines in the Bicêtre, at Paris, when the Retreat was founded in 1792. May I commend to your attention a volume published by Daniel Hack Tuke, M.D., entitled, *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles*. It contains many truly astonishing narratives of the ways in which the insane were formerly treated, as well as various local details of the beginnings of that beneficent reform with which the family name of the author is imperishably associated.

We might, I believe, spend a profitable quarter-of-an-hour in narrating the story of the North Riding Asylum, but time forbids.

Nor will we linger long at Clifton, the town dwelling by the cliff. This cliff was more conspicuous forty years ago than it is now, when a brick wall hides much of it from view. The inhabitant of a mountainous district may smile at our elevating a river bank to the dignity of a cliff. That our ancestors should have done so is creditable to their perceptions of the picturesque; and still the view at Clifton Scope, especially in time of frost, flood, or snow, affords one of the most pleasing glimpses of river-scenery in the neighbourhood of York.

If now we turn our eyes further eastward, leaving Clifton to our left hand, we shall note a continuous line of houses joining that village to the City. These houses are those on the west side of the north road and of Bootham. The evening light lingers caressingly on the roof of the Royal Grammar School of St. Peter, and we are reminded that though the building now in view was erected so lately as 1838, the School itself is in the fourth century of its history, dating back to the last year of Queen Mary. A little nearer to the City, we note the red brick chimneys of Ingram's Hospital, which have glowed in the sunsets of two hundred and forty years. Sir Arthur Ingram, of Temple Newsam, built this Hospital in the year the Long Parliament assembled (1640). And now we have reached the Scarborough railway and the railway bridge over the Ouse, and the Esplanade. The evening glow is reflected from the surface of the water, and the spring-green leaves of the willows on the banks tremble in the fresh-blowing wind. As the City of York expands, its inhabitants will have occasion to value, even more highly than they now do, open places and public walks like the Esplanade. It was a fortunate circumstance that the funds of the Ouse Navigation Committee in the years 1844 and 1847 allowed the expenditure of the £2,088 1s. 4d. required to provide this popular promenade.

The field between the Scarborough Railway and Marygate, now full in view before us, is called in the ordnance maps

Almery Garth. Speaking more exactly, the railway almost evenly divides the land bearing this name, and we are reminded that we are approaching the site of the great Abbey of St. Mary's. Here were the Abbot's fish-ponds. In 1785, the traces of these ponds were still apparent; and a pond in the orchard north of Mr. Walker's tannery is probably connected with these ancient fish reservoirs. The quaint name Almery Garth remains a memento that here were the fields, the enclosure, the garth, where the Abbey pastured its cattle before slaughtering, especially those — doubtless always welcome — bestowed upon it in alms. This word alms comes to us by way of the Norman-French *aumône*, or *aumônier*, through the Latin *elemosyna*, from the Greek word for pity; Almery Garth, then, was the enclosure wherein were kept the cattle given as alms to the monastery.

Let us take note of the house that bounds this part of Almery Garth on the north-east, and stands on the south side of the little street that leads out of Marygate to the field path to Clifton. Drake says here was the first house of the Grey Coat Girls' School, established in 1705, for twenty poor girls. Is the present house the identical building, or a successor to the one standing here in Queen Anne's reign? On the opposite side of the street a glass manufactory was established early in the eighteenth century, but it did not long flourish, and the buildings were removed. Let us return to the high house we have been speaking of. Here died in 1772 a man whose writings the prince of English essayists commends in the highest terms. By referring to the *Essays of Elia*, we shall find Charles Lamb advising his readers to "get the writings of John Woolman by heart." The memory of that good man is more widely venerated in the United States of America than in this country, and almost every summer brings its pilgrims from the west of the Atlantic to visit the last resting place of the philanthropist who had left his home at Mount Holly, in New Jersey, and, overtaken by small-pox, whilst on a Gospel and philanthropic mission to England, ended his days here by Almery Garth. His bones rest in the disused Friends' Burial Ground on Bishophill, under the shadow of the wall that divides

that place of sepulture from Dame Middleton's Hospital. One reason why John Woolman's name is now better known in the United States than in Great Britain was the publication of his *Journal* in 1871, with a scholarly introduction by the poet Whittier. In this introduction Whittier mentions how William Ellery Channing had expressed his great surprise that the *Journal* was so little known. Edward Irving pronounced the book a godsend. Henry Crabb Robinson, the friend of Goethe, Wordsworth and Coleridge, records his reading of John Woolman's *Journal* in his diary with the comment, "A perfect gem! He is a *schöne seele*, a beautiful soul. An illiterate tailor, he writes in a style of the most exquisite purity and grace. His moral qualities are transferred to his writings. . . . His religion was love. His whole existence and all his passions were love." References to these testimonies from eminent men are apposite to the objects of this lecture, but in one sense they are inappropriate to him to whom they refer, for he was the humblest of men, and, as Whittier says, "sought no place in the world's estimation, content to be only a passive instrument in the hands of his Master." John Woolman's tenderness of conscience was so sensitive, perhaps so morbidly sensitive, that he made his journeys on foot, not feeling free to ride on stage coaches where the horses were liable to be overdriven Thus he ante-dated the efforts of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. His life work was to induce the denomination to which he belonged to renounce all participation in the holding of negro slaves, and so to give the initial impulse to a movement which, within the lifetime of the present generation, has made millions of slaves and serfs into free men. It is meet that the citizens of York, who in after days bore their part in returning to Parliament William Wilberforce and Henry Brougham, should regard the memory of the good man who here ended his life of self-sacrifice, a pioneer in the cause which those great orators afterwards did so much to make popular and triumphant.

Some of the localities we have spoken of are visible from the Station Hotel only in clear weather, and from its highest

windows or garden terraces. Now we have arrived at that part of the outlook which is nearest to the Hotel—the site of the Abbey of St. Mary's and the Priory of St. Leonard's, bounded on the south by the Ouse, on the west by Marygate, on the north by Bootham, and on the east by St. Leonard's Place and Museum Street. It has been a truly felicitous circumstance that a group of buildings, ruins, and institutions of the highest interest should have been preserved on a site, itself consecrated by historic associations. And their value is enhanced a thousandfold, because, whilst rich in bygone memories, they are now largely ministering to the culture, the piety, the health, and the recreation of the present generation. In the centre of the group stands the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. It was erected in 1827, from the designs of W. Wilkin, R.A. The Museum contains amongst its geological treasures the bones, the discovery of which called it into existence. These were found in Kirkdale Cave, near to Kirbymoorside, and specially excited the interest of three York gentlemen, Mr. James Atkinson, Mr. William Salmond, F.G.S., and Mr. Anthony Thorpe. Believing that these fossils would be more valuable if cared for in a public institution, the gentlemen just named agreed to constitute them the nucleus of a Yorkshire Museum of Natural History and Antiquities. The late Archdeacon Hey has succinctly told us the history of the origin of the Museum, and his valuable paper having been printed, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject in detail. To William Vernon Harcourt, more than to any other man, is the City of York indebted for its Museum, and for all which has grown up in connection with it. Principally through his influence, perseverance, and judgment, a grant of the land on which, then in wild desolation, were standing the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, was obtained from the Crown, and sanctioned by Act of Parliament. Nine thousand pounds was subscribed for the erection of a museum on this site, so admirably adapted for its purpose. William Vernon Harcourt was the first President of the Philosophical Society, and was untiring in advancing its interests. It was only in February of 1830 that

the Museum was opened, and in the summer of the next year, the first meeting of the British Association for the advancement of science was held within its walls. Each succeeding year has added to the treasures of the Philosophical Society, and made its Museum and grounds increasingly worthy of being a centre for the safe custody of so much that is valuable, not only to the archæologist and man of science, but to any intelligent person who can appreciate the discoveries of science and the local monuments of antiquity.

Of pre-eminent value amongst these local monuments is the Multangular Tower on the east of the Museum, the lower part of which is a Roman building, erected in all probability in the third century. There is something that kindles thought in the remembrance that these walls, white in the evening sunlight of Whitsuntide, were reared by Latin builders, before Constantine had here been hailed as Imperator ; before he had founded the great City on the Bosphorus, that bears his name ; even before the festival of Whitsuntide was officially observed on the banks of the Tiber. To the accumulations of rubbish which had entombed them, the preservation of these memorials of Roman architecture is due. Readers of Mr. Wellbeloved's *Eburacum* will remember that he tells how, when the Philosophical Society removed some of these accumulations, Roman legionary inscriptions, like the scribbling in a modern barrack room, were found on the lower courses of stones in the interior. Here the victorious sixth legionaries had beguiled some of their idle hours. It may not be irrelevant to remind the members of this Institute how good must have been the masonry of the Roman builders, which has enabled these walls to stand for so many hundreds of years. The Romans did not scamp their work. They used excellent mortar, made in small quantities at a time, from freshly prepared lime. The Roman mortar is often found to be harder and more lasting even than the bricks which it binds together, and to be impervious to a penknife.

Running eastward from the Multangular Tower, the Roman Wall presently touches the ruins of St. Leonard's

Hospital. And now, for a moment, let us note the contiguity of the two ecclesiastical buildings of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's; for though the Multangular Tower and the Museum now divide the two groups of ruins, the buildings of the Abbey and the Hospital must have been so near to each other that some intercourse between the two institutions may have been not infrequent, and the escapades of Brother Jucundus may at least have been possible. If we may rely on what the Rev. S. Baring-Gould says,* Brother Jucundus was a monk in the Priory of St. Leonard's about the time when Christopher Columbus was discovering the New World. On the recurrence of a York fair, the temptation was irresistible to steal out, in the siesta hour after dinner, and to see again the dancing dogs, the whirli-go-rounds, the giantesses and dwarfs, the spice stalls and the drinking-booths. When the brother's departure was perceived, the Prior despatched two monks to see after him, who, alas! had to wheel back their friend on a barrow, in a state in which too many, both before and since, have been found at fair times. Ecclesiastical judgment, prompt and stern, consigned him to be walled up alive in the Priory cellar. Soon after the builders of this living grave may have sung their requiem, "Sinful brother, part in peace," the seasonable fall of the wall behind Jucundus released him from his uncomfortable position, and enabled him—now sobered—to run up a passage leading into St. Mary's Abbey, where he took his place, no questions being asked, amongst the Benedictine monks. For a year he conducted himself decorously in his new home, but the recurrence of the York fair again led Jucundus into alcoholic excess, for which he suffered in St. Mary's the same penalty he had undergone in St. Leonard's. In nearly the same way he a second time escaped, falling this time out of St. Mary's into St. Leonard's, and timing the event so opportunely that his arrival there, a year and a day after his departure, occurred at the very crisis when a new Prior was needed. It is hardly needful to finish the story. Jucundus, restored to his brethren as by a miracle, was hailed by them as Prior. He ruled

* In *Yorkshire Oddities.*

many years in that capacity, and it cannot be surprising that the moral state of St. Leonard's Priory at his decease justified its suppression. Its history had then extended over six centuries. According to the ordinary accounts, the kingdom of England had only emerged out of the Heptarchy about a century when King Athelstan granted to certain religious persons connected with the Cathedral Church of York, called Colidei or Culdees, a piece of ground on which to erect a hospital. A reference to Mr. Wellbeloved's excellent handbook to the antiquities in the Museum and grounds will inform the reader how successive kings, William the Conqueror, his sons Rufus and Beauclerc, and others, enlarged the possessions of the Hospital, till in the time of Henry VIII., his minister, Thomas Cromwell, found them worth £5,000 per annum reckoned in the currency of to-day. The ruins now standing are the Ambulatory, probably built by John Romanus, treasurer to the Minster, about the time when the Commons representatives were first summoned to Parliament.

St. Leonard's Hospital gives its name to the neighbouring street of Lendal, formerly called Ald-Conyngstrete. Museum Street has had many names: Mr. Davies says it was formerly called Ficteles Lane, which became Footless Lane by the reign of James I., and afterwards Finkle Street and Back Lendal, of course not becoming Museum Street till a recent date. Lendal Tower, standing by the river at the south-east extremity of the Museum gardens, marks the site of the ancient landing-place or wharf of St. Leonard's. For just two hundred years this tower has been used for waterworks purposes. In 1682 a pumping-engine, worked by two horses, was placed in it, by means of which a scanty supply of water was furnished to the citizens every week. The mains were at that time the trunks of trees hollowed out and fastened together. After the sale of the waterworks property by Colonel Thornton, in 1799, the new proprietary raised the height of the tower to 58½ feet above the river, and introduced an eighteen horse steam-engine. The new engine house at Acomb Landing, and the reservoirs on Severus Mount, were constructed in 1850.

St. Mary's Abbey had not enjoyed quite so long a career as St. Leonard's Hospital, when suppressed in 1540. Sixteen years before the Norman Conquest, Siward, Earl of Northumberland, a Dane, began to build a church or minster, and dedicated it to St. Olave, a Norwegian king, reverenced as a saint by the Northmen. Dying in 1055, the Saxon Chronicle says Siward was buried within "the Minster at Galmanho," then the name of Marygate, which afterwards became Earlesburgh. In 1078, the Conqueror gave this church and four acres of land to a company of Benedictine monks, who had been driven from Whitby to Lastingham, and now took up their abode in York. William Rufus, in 1089, laid the foundation of a new church, and in 1270, Abbot Simon de Warwick laid the foundation of the choir, and lived to see the whole building completed within twenty-four years. The principal part of the ruins now standing formed the north wall of the nave of the church. The head of this monastery was a mitred Abbot, had a seat in Parliament, and was called Lord Abbot. The possessions of the Abbey were very large in the sixteenth century; its clear annual rental in 1540 is given as £1,650, an enormous sum, having regard to the value of money at that time. The relations of the Abbey with the City of York seem often to have been strained. Lively disputes between the Abbots and the Lord Mayors of former days had to be referred to the King himself, and a wall was built all round the Abbey land to protect it from the hostilities of the York citizens. The picturesque towers at both ends of Marygate are the remains of this fortification. It is an almost accidental thing that any part of the great Abbey of St. Mary's has remained to the present day. Had it not been for the formation of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, it is hardly likely the present generation would have seen any of its ruins. After the Reformation, the materials of the Abbey were used to build the residence of the President of the Council of the North, now the Wilberforce School for the Blind. The building is hid from our view by the Museum, and so is just outside the range of the present lecture. The Abbey ruins were further diminished by the siege of 1644. In Queen

Anne's reign, St. Olave's church was repaired and almost rebuilt out of them. When George I. was king, the Corporation of Beverley had leave to use the stone for three years in the restoration of Beverley Minster, and, still later, a lime-kiln was built, and lime manufactured out of the ruins. Marks of bullets may be observed on some of the stones of the wall dividing the Museum gardens from St. Olave's church-yard. We believe these indents sometimes do duty as memorials of the siege of 1644. We do not like to spoil an antiquarian story, but as a matter of fact, these marks were the work of the Yeomanry who exercised here before the enclosure of the Museum gardens, and have been seen firing at these ruins by some of our older citizens.

We have mentioned the origin of St. Olave's church. It is a prominent object from our standpoint by the Royal Station Hotel, and calls for a few words on its after history. When the stately church of St. Mary had been built, St. Olave's became a conventual church, reckoned as a chapel dependent upon the Abbey. In the siege of 1644, a battery of guns was placed on the roof, and the edifice was much injured. Of its restoration in the eighteenth century we have already spoken. Formerly there was an official seat in this church for the President of the Council of the North, and in all likelihood the able author of the policy of *Thorough*, Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, ofttimes worshipped here. In the civil war which the policy of *Thorough* helped to excite, the locality we are looking on was the scene of bloody strife. Before the war broke out, in 1642, Almery Garth was crowded with the Royalist Artillery, and when York was invested by the Parliamentary Army in 1644, the Earl of Manchester's troops occupied the ground from Almery Garth to Monk Bridge. The ground on which the Railway Station and the Hotel now stand, down to the river, was known as Bishop Fields, and was covered by the Scotch Army. On the morning of Trinity Sunday a body of Parliamentary troops entered the Abbey enclosure by St. Mary's Tower at the corner of Bootham and Marygate, and took the Manor House. They were surrounded

by the garrison, many were made prisoners, and others killed in the Manor bowling green, part of which now constitutes the north-eastern section of the Museum gardens.

It will be observed that the ecclesiastical buildings of St. Olave's are connected with a square stone house nearer to the river by a Norman arch of singular beauty, which was the principal entrance to the Monastery. St. Mary's Lodge is now the residence of the Curator of the Museum.* It is of later date than the archway. The lower part is believed to have been the Abbey prison, where its debtors and other prisoners were confined. The Abbot had the power of life and death in his hands. His gallows stood in Burton Lane, then entered from Bootham by a gate, Galman-hithe, *i.e.*, Gallows-gate. The Abbot's Court was probably held in the room above the prison. The house before us possesses also a peculiar interest as having been the home of John Phillips. Before he entered it in 1826, the building was in a tumble-down condition, having been used as a public-house. It was here that, as curator of the Museum, he did so much to gather together its varied treasures and to prosecute the scientific researches that made him famous. How often have I wondered, as a child, what was the purpose of the remarkable erections in different parts of his garden, which were, in fact, rain gauges at different elevations. I have had frequent occasion, in writing this lecture, to refer to *The Rivers, Mountains, and Sea Coast of Yorkshire*, and I observe that in Professor Phillips' chapter on climate, he gives the results of these observations. In one year, a very dry one, 1834-35, the rainfall on the top of the Minster was a fraction more than eight inches, whilst it was twelve on the top of the Museum, and nearly sixteen on the ground. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society was fortunate in having William Vernon Harcourt for its first President, and it was equally so in having John Phillips for its first Curator. He was to a large extent a self-taught man, which will make his memory not less interesting to the members of the York Institute. He was for

* Since this was written, the lodge has been made into a private residence.—[EDITOR.]

many years Assistant Secretary to the British Association, its President in 1865, and Professor of Geology at Oxford when he died in 1874.

The Swimming Bath at the south-west angle of the grounds of the Philosophical Society is not sufficiently conspicuous to call for much comment. Its proximity to the Abbey reminds us of the great change that has come over public opinion in respect to the virtue of cleanliness. When St. Mary's Abbey was in its glory, the popular idea of saintliness associated holy living with a dirty skin. Thomas à Becket was England's great saint in the twelfth century. His death made an impression on the popular imagination difficult to exaggerate. When the Archbishop was slain, his personal condition, as described by Dean Stanley in his *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, would have involved an effective application of soap and hot water, before he could have been admitted into an English workhouse. It is a suggestive line of inquiry what it was that led religious opinion to take dirt under its patronage, and how the change came about now embodied in the orthodox maxim, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness."

There remains only one other building before us that demands notice. This is the Hospitium. Mr. Wellbeloved says that no documentary evidence remains to tell the date of this structure. It is a highly probable conjecture that here the monks of St. Mary's Abbey entertained strangers, of the "casual" type, whom it might not be desirable to admit to the principal apartments of the monastery. The archway adjoining the building probably formed the entrance to the Abbey from the river. Whatever may have been the origin and purposes of the Hospitium, it now affords a most fitting and hospitable resting-place for the antiquities which have been stored within its walls.

The Museum gardens illustrate the resources of landscape gardening. Those who remember them previous to their enlargement in 1843 will be of one mind in testifying to the added beauty attained by the changes then made. The way in which advantage has been taken of the slight undulation in the ground,

and of the few large trees growing on the Manor Shore, denote a skilful designer. The £10,000 left to the Philosophical Society by Dr. Beckwith, which allowed of the enlargement and beautifying of the grounds, must have greatly increased the sum of human happiness, and is a suggestive instance of the benefit men may confer on a community by gifts or bequests dedicated to great public improvements.

There is one other association with the Museum grounds that may be just alluded to, though it is, perhaps, rather by inference than exact knowledge that this locality is connected with the memory of Paulinus. King Edwin, whose name is perpetuated in Scotland's capital, in our own "King's Square," and in Coney Street, Conyngstrete—the King's Street—embraced Christianity in the Eastertide of 627. He was baptised in a building on the site of the present Minster; but the many thousands of his people who followed his example are supposed to have been instructed on the Manor Shore and baptised in the River Ouse. Lady Hilda, afterwards the famous Abbess of Whitby, niece to King Edwin, was another convert to the zeal of Paulinus. Lovers of poetry may be reminded that Wordsworth has portrayed this eminent missionary to our Saxon ancestors in one of his Ecclesiastical sonnets—

> "Mark him, of shoulders curved, and stature tall,
> Black hair, and vivid eye, and meagre cheek,
> His prominent feature like an eagle's beak;
> A Man whose aspect doth at once appal
> And strike with reverence."

And now as we leave the grounds of the Philosophical Society, the clock warns me that time will fail before we can speak of all the points of interest in the outlook before us. North of the Museum Gardens rises, above the ruins and the trees, the roof of the Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition, a structure evidently designed more for use than for beauty. The Blind School is mostly hidden by the Museum. The summit of the Theatre and the tower of the pro-cathedral of St. Wilfrid's need not detain us. Then to the east are the Minster Towers. The

Minster is far too large a subject to be brought into the present lecture. We must leave it in the background of our prospect, and then, turning still to the eastward, we find the view bounded by the fine lines of Lendal Bridge. In former days a Bridge-builder, a Pontifex, a Pontiff, was so highly esteemed that the word became the official title of a High Priest in the Sacred College of Rome, at the head of which was the Pontifex Maximus, the title which has descended to the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, the Roman Pontiff. The Corporation of York meets in the adjoining Hall, once dedicated to the guild of St. Christopher. St. Christopher won his saintship by carrying pilgrims across a river. This manner of transport has gone out of vogue, but the Corporation of York may claim to perpetuate the traditions of St. Christopher's memory, by helping so many persons across the River Ouse, by the bridges it has built during the last quarter of a century, at Lendal and at Skeldergate. I have remarked how well it was that, by the building of the Museum on its present site, the group of ruins and of buildings around it have been preserved for the public service. Another propitious circumstance is the harmony of Lendal Bridge with its surroundings. Mr. Page's graceful design exactly suits the site, and the ancient towers on either side of the river, between which in former days a chain was stretched for purposes of defence, might have been purposely built to give an air of antiquity to the approaches.

Leaving Lendal Bridge, and now looking nearly due east, the prospect is limited by the line of the Bar Walls rising rapidly from North Street Postern. The Walls stand the ever present mementoes of ages of turbulence and violence, and now —useless for defence—they have become the ministers of health and enjoyment to those who walk on them. In St. Olave's churchyard, adjoining the Abbey ruins, rest the remains of William Etty, R.A., who says, respecting the locality we have arrived at, "What a lovely walk it used to be from Micklegate Bar along the walls to North-street Postern;—ancient fortifications, grey battlements, verdant fields, and smiling gardens on either hand,

finished in grand perspective by our noble Cathedral in one of its finest points of view." It is supposed that the City Walls were built on their present line in the reign of Henry III. They have been often repaired, the last time when a great restoration was effected being in 1833, principally at the instance of the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. Barber.

Between the Hotel gardens and the Walls is the disused Cholera Burial Ground. It is well that this plot of land—one of God's acres, as our Saxon ancestors would have called it—has been rescued from neglect and come under the care of the Finance Committee of the York Corporation. Our elder citizens remember the alarm, approaching to panic, that prevailed in York in the summer of 1832. On June 3rd, the first case of Asiatic Cholera occurred, rapidly followed by others. The ground before us was appropriated for the burial of those who died at their own houses. The remains of those who died at the Cholera hospital rest in St. George's church-yard. The coffins intended for the Thief-lane cemetery had to be brought by boat to North Street Postern, because the people of North Street rose in insurrection against the dead-cart, and prevented its passage through the street. During the visitation of the cholera, in 1832, 450 persons were attacked by the malady, and 185 died, out of a population of 26,260. It has been estimated, I believe, by the late Dr. Laycock, that if the mortality in 1832 had been proportionate to that of 1604, when 3,512 persons are said to have died of the plague, it would not have fallen much short of 8,000 persons. The pestilence of 1832 left behind it a quickened sense of the necessity for sanitary reform. This burial ground, now reposeful and beautiful in the verdure of the spring foliage, may stand as a seasonable reminder of the need, wherever men are congregated in towns and cities, that the public health should be a matter of constant regard. If the laws of health are disregarded through ignorance, laziness, or parsimony, whilst the penalty usually falls firstly upon the poorer classes, it reaches eventually to every other class of the community. In a very interesting paper by the late Mr. Davies, read before the Philosophical

Society, I remember his telling of the characteristic vigour with which the Earl of Strafford fought against the plague when it visited York in the reign of Charles I. It may have been good for the citizens of that time that so vigorous a ruler had the administration of the sanitary resources of the day. Yet more happy will it be for the citizens now, if their health-officers have the support of an intelligent Corporation, and, what is yet more important, if they have behind them the power of an educated opinion diffused through the whole mass of the people.

Several years ago the Duke of Argyle published a charming little book on Iona, in which he points out how our conceptions of the lapse of time are affected by the index on which we measure it. Speaking of the year 563 A.D., he asks whether we think it a very ancient or a very modern date. "On the banks of the Nile," says the Duke, "it would seem an hour ago. Even on the banks of the Tiber it would not be old. On the other hand, when we measure thirteen hundred years by the changes they have brought, the days of Columba's ministry will appear remote indeed. And this method of taking our stand at different points of past time, and turning our face alternately in opposite directions, is the only way of estimating correctly the depths into which we look. For the tracts of time are foreshortened like the tracts of space." Let us apply this canon to the landscape before us. We look on the ruins of St. Mary's, and think how long it is since the monks went forth from that stately home. But we glance at the adjacent Multangular Tower, and the Reformation becomes a modern event, contrasted with that far-off time when Rome withdrew her legions from Eburacum. Three centuries and a half separate us from the former event, fourteen centuries from the latter. But these periods fade into absolute insignificance compared with those cycles of time during which the forces of nature have been at work, fashioning the country of which we have been speaking. In building the adjoining goods warehouses of the North Eastern Railway, several acres of land were lowered from ten to fifteen feet. The spade of the navvy laid bare some interesting memorials of

Imperial Rome, and showed that the very garden before the Hotel was part of a Roman Cemetery that extended from the Walls very nearly to the goods warehouses. But the excavators also disclosed memorials of forces which had been operating here, compared with which the utmost power of the Roman soldier was as nought. The phenomena disclosed by these excavations were observed and described recently by Mr. James E. Clark, B.Sc. His lecture in this hall on a limestone boulder from the Goods Station will have made the details of some of these geological phenomena familiar to the members of this Institute. It may be stated very briefly, for the information of any who did not hear the lecture, that after the surface earth had been removed for some feet, the excavator found himself in the strata known as boulder clay, " the chief constituent of which is a dense tenacious clay, varying much in colour, but nearly always dark—chiefly black, dull red, and brown." At times, amongst this clay, are found stones which have travelled very far from their homes; these travellers are called boulders, and give their name to the strata. Some of these found here had come from Shap Fell, whilst others evidently came from the oolitic hills in the north-east of Yorkshire. Geologists assure us that they can decipher with much confidence the handwriting of these ancient deposits. Ice-scratches are clearly seen on many of the boulders. Ice is the agent which has brought these travelling rocks so far from the place of their birth. Some 80,000 years ago an ice-cap, seventy feet thick, encrusted the whole surface of what is now England, down at any rate to the valley of the Thames. In this glacial period was deposited the boulder clay just referred to. But the geologist does not stop here. The further indications of geologic research point to a still earlier period when an almost perennial spring prevailed, and when the valley of the Ouse may have been the abode of the huge ichthyosaurus, plesiosaurus, and deinotherium, whilst in the thickets on its banks ranged the hyena, the leopard, and the British lion, the direct ancestor of the noble brute which is wont to roar on a thousand platforms, and to adorn innumerable cartoons in *Punch*. But our arithmetic

almost fails to carry us through epochs so vast as those disclosed by geology. . . .

I have to thank you for the attention with which you have accompanied me as I have essayed to guide you in a hasty survey of the outlook from the Station Hotel. May I be permitted before we separate to offer two or three considerations that have been suggested by the localities we have visited ?

I was reminded, when mentioning the year 1827, in which the Museum was built, that the same year witnessed the foundation of this Institute. Those who have followed me as we have passed from one locality or building to another, whether they were familiar with its history or not, will unite in acknowledging how greatly the enjoyment of life is enhanced by the possession of the knowledge, even if for many of us it cannot be profound, which will enable us to take an intelligent interest in the objects which meet our gaze. This knowledge was once the possession of the few. Now, by the agency of associations like this before which I am permitted to speak, and by the spread of elementary education, even though our advantages in these respects are not so conspicuous in York as in some places, there is hardly anyone who need remain ignorant of the history of his home, or of the simple facts of natural science that come before him in his everyday life. I have mentioned some of the biographical associations of our survey. . . . The power of individual character and the lasting nature of true work is the thought that has arisen in my mind in connection with the names in question. Of Paulinus, the Christian Missionary ; of John Woolman, the Philanthropist ; of John Phillips, the man of Science ; of William Etty, the Painter ; and of William Vernon Harcourt, the statesmanlike founder of the Museum and other Institutions, it might be said in the words of one of the earliest extant English poems—

> "Of those who shall afterwards name them
> This is best laud from the living
> In last words spoken about him ;
> He worked ere he went his way."

. . . As self-reliance is almost indispensable to success for an individual, it is so to a community, and I hold that the outlook from the Station Hotel is a great object-lesson to the citizens of York, always before their eyes, telling them that wise and public-spirited improvements bring their own reward, and that some temporary sacrifice often earns for a community a rich harvest in added health, happiness, culture, and material wealth.

There remains but one other topic on which I should like to speak. The making and maintenance of the Esplanade, the erection of Lendal Bridge, and the thoughts suggested by the Cholera Burial Ground—three features in the outlook we have been considering—unite to remind us of the singular importance of our municipal institutions. . . . When we were speaking of the Multangular Tower, I drew your attention to the excellent workmanship of the Roman builders who reared that tower as an example worthy of emulation by the workmen of to-day. But another question which that venerable tower suggests is—why were the Romans unable to perpetuate their rule ? why did their great empire fall to ruins ? Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* will give a partial answer to this most interesting question. A more recent writer, Mr. Thomas Hodgkin, B.A., in his very able work, *Italy and her Invaders*, has discussed the same question, and thrown some fresh light upon its answer. I should like particularly to commend to the historical readers of your Institute the 9th chapter, vol. ii., book 3, of this work. In these pages they will read how " the civilisation of the Roman Republic was essentially a municipal civilisation ; " how, during two-and-a-half centuries of the Empire, " Local self-government existed side by side with the Imperial system," not only existed but flourished ; and they can also learn how this local self-government was killed by the Imperial policy in the third and fourth centuries, and how intimately connected with the fall of the Roman Empire was this destruction of the *municipia*. Lord Salisbury, speaking at Edinburgh a few days ago, perspicuously explained how it is that whilst nearly every public man in Great

Britain is theoretically favourable to local self-government, its sphere is being constantly invaded by the spirit of centralisation. On that occasion the speaker told the citizens of Edinburgh that a special responsibility rested upon them to maintain their ancient local government. I have reminded you that King Edwin, who built Edinburgh, probably walked with Paulinus where the Museum gardens now are, but where at that time were the environs of Cair Ebrauc. We may conclude that on the ground of antiquity our responsibility is not inferior to that of the people of Edinburgh.

The particular aspect of municipal government, which comes before us in connection with the Cholera Burial Ground, is its relation to the public health. The destruction of life is usually a much more striking event than its preservation. The pomp and circumstance of war, the deed of the murderer, the fatal calamities of fire or flood or shipwreck, are assiduously chronicled and published, and so kept in remembrance, but men are constantly liable to forget the unobtrusive services of the health officer, and to kick at the regulations or the expense necessary for the maintenance of national or local health. If the plague or cholera were again in our midst all would be sanitarians, but in the absence of the pestilence we are apt to forget our obligations to sanitary science. Yet its triumphs may be presented in a way that powerfully appeals to the imagination. . . In some places it is still customary to lay a bunch of rue before the Judge in an Assize Court, a memento of a time when jails were the abode of deadly fever that sometimes struck down judges and jurymen as well as the unhappy prisoners, and against which rue was supposed to be an antidote. Sanitary science has now made Her Majesty's prisons eminent for their healthiness. Their inmates enjoy a lower mortality and a smaller amount of sickness than the general population. The results attained in the City of York are very encouraging to sustained labour in the same direction. The ravages of the plague have now been unknown for centuries, those of the cholera for a generation, those of small-pox are greatly diminished. Centuries ago there were at

least two hospitals in York for the care of lepers, a disease now hardly known. Within the last thirty years the improved drainage of the City, the raising of the Foss Islands, and other improvements effected by the Corporation have reduced the death rate by about two in every thousand of the population. This means that at the end of each year 100 persons are living who would have died but for these improvements, and 1,200 to 1,500 cases of serious illness have been avoided. But much remains to be done, and without constant vigilance the ground gained may be easily lost. An influential association like the York Institute might do much to educate a community as to their municipal responsibilities, and to form and maintain an enlightened public opinion. By its library, by its evening classes, by its lectures, it can spread knowledge on sanitary matters amongst the homes of the people, and especially amongst the young men connected with the building trades. The Institute has lately received from the Corporation of York a signal mark of appreciative liberality. It will be a good return for the Institute to do its part in educating our population to a higher appreciation of the importance of their municipal affairs. The more opulent and cultured classes should be willing to take their share in municipal duties and to devote to the public service some of their greater leisure. The men who do the real sanitary work of the Corporation, in the supervision of building plans and the administration of a vast variety of somewhat uninviting details, should be well sustained by the public opinion of those for whom they work. Constituencies should feel that they are beholden to their representatives rather than the representatives to the constituencies. Those who have influence in the selection of representatives to our local parliament should remember that the health and even the lives of very many persons may largely depend upon the intelligence, ability, and disinterested zeal of such representatives. And especially would I say that the best men of every creed and party should strive to purify, and to keep pure, the fountains of municipal life. The choosing of councillors might be, and sometimes is made an occasion of great value in

educating the public mind on municipal affairs, but too often it is degraded by scenes of debauchery and corruption. In this corruption a double evil is done: the poor learn to regard their votes as a property to be sold instead of a trust to be faithfully exercised, and some of the best men of every party are driven far away, and their services lost to the public, because they refuse to allow themselves to be dragged through dirt to dignity. I wish I could fortify my plea on behalf of local patriotism by recalling the words of Lord Derby, in a speech in the autumn of 1879, when he pointed out that it could not be too much encouraged, as it was the most needed and the least selfish form of patriotism, and that whilst the number of persons who can sensibly influence the policy of a nation is very small, the number who may be able to benefit the smaller communities of our towns and cities is large.

In conclusion, I trust I may have succeeded in showing that the outlook from the Station Hotel is in many respects notable—and that the considerations which are naturally suggested by it, might indirectly help to make the outlook from all the dwellings in York—whether cottages or mansions—brighter and happier and more prosperous than it is.

CHAPTER XII.

"PRIEST BOWLES." *

THE roofs of the houses and the sward in the Minster close were white with snow at the Christmastide of 1651, when a notable traveller paid his first visit to the City of York. The Christmas-day of that year seems to have fallen on a Thursday. The previous Sunday George Fox spent at Beverley, speaking in two of the local churches, or "steeple-houses," as he calls them. On the Monday he left the house of his friend Justice Hotham, and started to walk towards York. The evening found him hungry and needing shelter. Calling at a house by the roadside, he asked the mistress for a drink of milk; she said she had none. He then asked her for cream, and as she was again saying she had none, a child playing on the floor upset a can filled with milk. The woman sorely flogged the child, whilst George Fox, rebuking her for her falsehood, took his leave. Notwithstanding the frost and snow which covered the ground, he slept that night under a haystack, and the next morning entered York, passing, I presume, under Walmgate Bar.

He gives a detailed narration of what occurred on the next Sunday:—

"Upon the First-day of the week following, I was commanded of the Lord to go to the great minster, and speak to the priest Bowles and his hearers in their great cathedral. Accordingly I went; and when the priest had done, I told them I had something from the Lord God to speak to the priest and people. 'Then say on quickly,' said a professor that was among them, for it was frost and snow, and very cold weather. Then I told them this was the word of

* From the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* for January, 1894.

the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words ; but God Almighty looked for fruits amongst them. As soon as the words were out of my mouth, they hurried me out, and threw me down the steps ; but I got up again without hurt, and went to my lodgings. Several were convinced there ; for the very groans that arose from the weight and oppression that was upon the Spirit of God in me, would open people, and strike them, and make them confess that the groans which broke forth through me did reach them ; for my life was burthened with their profession without possession, and words without fruit. After I had done my present service in York, and several were convinced there, received the truth of God, and were turned to His teaching, I passed out of York, and looking towards Cleveland, I saw there was a people that had tasted of the power of God."*

This narrative suggests two inquiries, (1) as to the propriety or otherwise of George Fox speaking in the churches ; (2) as to the religious character of his message. Either of these might lead us into a digression sufficient for an entire article. Fox and his friends have often been censured for their disturbance of public worship. It can hardly be maintained that this censure is in every case undeserved. But the main weight of it falls to the ground in view of the usages of the age as respects the national places of worship. George Fox was sometimes apprehended and imprisoned for his discourses in the churches, but it is observable that on every occasion, so far as I remember, the offence alleged against him was the doctrine he preached, not the disturbance of the worship. There is ample evidence to show that in the Puritan epoch it was a common thing for laymen to speak in the churches, usually, though not always, after the minister had finished. Sir John Cheke, when High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, preached before Oxford University, dressed in his Sheriff's robes. Sir Walter Scott, in the first chapter of *Woodstock,* refers to the practice of laymen speaking in the churches. In some places the people rang the church bells to gather the congregation, when they supposed George Fox was about to preach. He says, " I went into many steeple-houses, but I did not go into their pulpits." In more than a few instances the minister invited Fox to speak ; this took place at Malton, Pickering, Aldingham, and

* Fox's *Journal,* i. 83, 84.

Rampside near Ulverston. In 1654, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill visited a "steeple-house" in Lombard Street, London, and were allowed to speak to the people for upwards of an hour. In the following year Richard Hubberthorne and James Parnell were permitted to speak without complaint in several of the churches in the eastern counties. At a somewhat later date John Bunyan, himself a preacher among the Baptists, was allowed to hold a long disputation with the Friends, in one of the Bedford churches.*

A word or two on the character of George Fox's message in York Minster. He told Bowles and the people that their religion was one of profession rather than one of possession; by which he no doubt intended to say that their Christian faith stood too much in externals, too little in inward and spiritual power. It is a very interesting inquiry how far this indictment was true. At no time, either before or since, was the ritual of the public worship in the national cathedrals and churches more simple than at the period of which we are speaking. It is pretty certain that the Christmas season of 1651 received no special celebration in York. Parliament had directed that if it were observed at all, it should be by way of fast rather than by that of festival. Six years later we find Edward Bowles writing to Secretary Thurloe, advising the suppression of all preachers who would persist in observing the festival of Christmas. I presume that the Minster organ was silent, and that the dress of the minister and the general arrangements of public worship would correspond with the severe and simple ritual now observed in the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. How far, then, was all this a matter of externals? George Fox is said to have been "a great discerner of spirits, as well as very much the master of his own." How far was his discernment right on the occasion of which we are speaking? We cannot answer decisively.

* Additional particulars on this subject will be found in Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, Robert Barclay's *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 274, ; in the appendix to J. S. Rowntree's two lectures upon the Macaulay charges against George Fox; and in *The First Publishers of Truth*.—[EDITOR.]

No portion of English Church history is more interesting than that of the period comprising the reigns of Elizabeth, James the First, Charles the First, and the Commonwealth. No student of this period will deny that very many of the early Puritans were animated by the sincerest piety. There is, however, much reason to think that the fervour, simplicity, and beauty of this piety had declined before the middle of the seventeenth century. It is likely that the very success of the Puritans had tended to foster the growth of sanctimoniousness, if not of hypocrisy. At the time of Cromwell's accession to the Protectorate, Green says :

" Cromwell recalled how ' it was a shame to be a Christian within these fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen years in this nation. It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man ; and the badge of Puritan was put upon it ! ' But the shame and reproach were now rolled away. The Puritan was master in the land. All government was in the hands of godly men. Piety was as needful for an officer in the army, for a magistrate, for a petty constable, as for a minister of religion. The aim of the Protector was that England should be ruled and administered by ' the best,' by men ruling and administering in the fear of God. In Church as in State all that such men had longed to do, could now be done. Superstitious usages were driven from the churches. No minister wore a surplice. No child was signed in baptism with a cross. The very pastimes of the world had to conform themselves to the law of God. The theatres were closed. Sunday sports were summarily abolished. There were no more races, no more bull-baitings, no more cock-fighting, no more dances under the Maypole. Christmas had to pass without its junketings, or mummers, or mince-pies." *

There is just one feature of the question which deserves more attention than it has received. The scenes of bloodshed and violence, through which the army of the Parliament had advanced from victory to victory, must have had a harmful influence on the spiritual life of the men who were concerned in them. It had been an initial error of the Puritans to take the Old rather than the New Testament as the exposition of the Divine will ; and the

* Green's *History of the English People*, iii. 304. See also Marsden's *Early and Later Puritans;* Neal's *History of the Puritans;* Stoughton's *History of Religion in England;* and the abundant historical and biographical literature of the Commonwealth period.

spirit of the victors of Marston, Naseby, and Dunbar, though in a sense deeply religious, was yet far removed from the spirit of Him who came to save men's lives, and who was Himself "meek and lowly in heart." About thirty years ago the late Henry Richard, M.P., then secretary of the "Peace Society," published a pamphlet entitled *The Effects of the Civil War in England on the National Liberties, Morality, and Religion: a Bicentenary Study*. The last sentence of this pamphlet reads:—"England was not a gainer by the Civil War in national purity, 'for whether we look to public or private morality, we shall find that after the war the very flood-gates of corruption were opened, and the whole land was deluged with impiety and vice.' Not in religious life and fervour; for, almost from the beginning of the war, the vital power of Puritanism began to decline, and continued steadily to decline for more than a century, until things had come to such a pass that Bishop Butler declared, in the preface to his *Analogy*, 'It was taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity was not so much as a subject of enquiry; but that it was, now at length, discovered to be fictitious.'"

Returning now to the "Priest Bowles" of George Fox's narrative, we know, from other sources, that Edward Bowles, M.A., the intimate friend of Lord Thomas Fairfax, was living in York in 1651. There can be no doubt that he was the man whom George Fox met in the Minster.*

Edward Bowles was born at the village of Sutton in Bedfordshire, February, 1613. He was the son of Oliver Bowles, B.D., the oldest member of the Westminster Assembly. Young Bowles was educated at Cambridge University, being a graduate of St. Catherine's Hall; Dr. Sibbes and Dr. Brownrig are mentioned as two of his tutors. He and his family adhered to the

* The authorities to whom I am indebted for his biography are:—*Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Stephen and Lee, article on E. Bowles, by the Rev. Alex. Gordon; Markham's *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax;* Davies' *Walks through the City of York;* Neal's *History of the Puritans;* Edmund Calamy's *Account of the Ejected Ministers*, 1702; Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial*, 1802; Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly;* Kenrick's *Memorial of Presbyterian Chapels in York*, 1869; James's *History of Presbyterian Chapels and Churches*, 1867; Bowles' own works.

Presbyterian order of Church government; and we find him in 1645 a chaplain to the New Model Army, under the generalship of Lord Fairfax. He was then the close friend of the General and carried the news of the victory at Naseby to Westminster. Parliament voted him £100 in recognition of the good tidings he had brought. The great influence exercised by the preachers in the Roundhead army is a well-known matter of history. Amongst these preachers Edward Bowles was prominent. He harangued the troops before the bloody storming of Bridgwater, as well as on many other occasions. His biographers mention that in the years immediately following the battle of Naseby, whilst the Independents were growing in power, and the influence of the Presbyterians was waning, Lord Fairfax rather inclined to the Independents, whilst Lady Fairfax considered herself greatly edified by Bowles' teaching, and her influence and that of her chaplain was strongly exercised in favour of the Presbyterian interest.

Lady Fairfax, before her marriage, was Ann Vere, the daughter of Lord Vere, of Tilbury. She was the person who interrupted the proceedings at the trial of Charles I., by her protests, as mentioned by Clarendon in the *History of the Great Rebellion*.

Before the execution of Charles I., Edward Bowles settled in York. His wife was the grand-daughter of Matthew Hutton, a former archbishop of York. The intimate friend and colleague of Bowles was Thomas Calvert, subsequently one of the 2,000 Nonconformist ministers ejected from the Church in 1662—a man of such learning that he was commonly known as "Rabbi Calvert." His connection with Bowles is referred to in the following passage, from the pen of the late Robert Davies, who was for many years the Town Clerk of York, a singularly painstaking and accurate antiquarian writer :—

"At the commencement of the Civil War Mr. Calvert was so much esteemed as a preacher that the Corporation of York allowed him a stipend of 10s. a quarter out of the city funds, and after the surrender of York to the Parliamentarians in 1644, when the Presbyterians or Puritan party had gained complete ascendancy in the City, Mr. Calvert, with Mr. Edward Bowles (the well-known divine, who was

chaplain to Thomas Lord Fairfax), and two other ministers, Mr. Williams and Mr. Perrott, were appointed to be the four city preachers with suitable stipends. The city preachers were at that time permitted to usurp the functions of the cathedral and parochial clergy. Two of them preached at the Minster every Sunday for a month, and the other two at the church of All Hallows in the Pavement for the other month, alternately. For some time their stipends were paid out of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter, but in the year 1649 some doubt appears to have arisen whether the Parliament would allow any grant for that purpose out of the capitular funds, and the Corporation resolved to raise a sufficient sum by assessment upon the citizens. After the Restoration, when ecclesiastical affairs had returned into their former channel, the four city preachers lost their occupation; their services being no longer acceptable, their stipends were not forthcoming; and in January, 1661, the corporate body, which had not yet been thoroughly purged of the puritanical leaven, resolved that as Mr. Calvert, Mr. Bowles, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Perrott had preached constantly in this city for some time past, a subscription should be raised. In these days, I presume it would have been called a testimonial."*

The preceding passage explains how it was that Edward Bowles should be found in York Minster in 1651. He was a tall, handsome man, and his portrait, which still hangs in the Lodge at Middleton Tyas,† shows him to have been a man of large stature, attired as a Presbyterian minister, with a face indicative of power, probably stubbornness, and good sense, rather than of spirituality. In this respect he would contrast with George Fox, who was also of large stature. When they met, in 1651, Bowles would be thirty-eight years of age, Fox twenty-seven. Bowles wore his hair cropped short, in the Roundhead fashion; Fox wore his long, more after the custom affected by the Cavaliers. Fox's countenance betokened a man of strong convictions and deep spirituality, as of one wont to commune with the Unseen. It may well be supposed that there would be but little in common between the two men; whilst in reality there were points worthy of admiration in both. As we proceed, it will be seen that they

* Davies' *Walks through the City of York*, 229.

† A photograph of this portrait, taken by permission of its owner, Leonard L. Hartley, Esq., was published in 1869, No. 90 in Hailstone's *Portraits of Yorkshire Worthies*, vol. i.

at any rate had this in common—they were both prepared to suffer for their convictions. There can be no doubt that Edward Bowles was a man of distinct power. Matthew Pool, the commentator, thought more of his judgment than of any other man's. Contemporaries considered that without being a forward man, Bowles "ruled all York."* One of his biographers says, "He was the spring which moved all the wheels in York."

In 1648, we find Bowles preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral, before the Lord Mayor of London.†

I have not discovered any evidence that Bowles again crossed the path of George Fox or his friends. In 1655 he published a sermon, on the duty and danger of Swearing,‡ suggesting

* *Dictionary of National Biography.*

† I have lately had the opportunity of referring to this sermon, a copy of which is preserved in the library of the British Museum. The sermon occupies twenty-eight and a half pages and contains nearly 10,000 words. It would be about twice the length of most of C. H. Spurgeon's printed sermons. It is entitled *Good Counsell for Evil Times, a plain sermon at Paul's, 16th April*, 1648, by Edward Bowles, M.A., of Katherin Hall, Cambridge. Motto, Psalm xxxiv. 12, 13, 14. London: F. Neile, for Samuel Gellibrand; and are to be sold at his shop at the Brazen Serpent in Paul's Churchyard, 1648. Eph. v. 15-16. Preface is dated York, 15 May, 1648. "To preach grace without duty tends to libertinism; to press duty without discovering the mystery of the Gospel, which is justification and salvation, the righteousness of another, scil. Jesus Christ our suretie in the covenant of grace, leads to formalitie, and the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, which is short of the kingdom of heaven. We must declare the whole counsel of God, which is to live in Christ by faith, and to Christ by obedience." Page 2 discusses evil days under four heads, and then passes on to speak of the way to better evil times. Page 15 deprecates a return to old ceremonies, but thinks they might have been abolished more gradually. "I perceive many ready to fight for a Common Prayer Book who never made any conscience of hearing it." Respecting religious toleration Bowles says:—"As not the opening a back door to old superstition, so neither the setting wide a pair of broad gates to a new toleration would contribute hereunto, if it should produce some present peace, yet that peace would be both miserable and short." (p. 16). "I speak not as if there might not or ought not to be a mutual forbearance amongst Christians who hold the head, and walk as becomes the Gospel, and disturb not the public peace and welfare of the Church, seconded with an endeavour of restoring one another to unitie, in a spirit of meekness; for that men in all points agree is rather to be wished than hoped, it is reserved for the happiness of heaven, and not allowed for the lot of this pilgrimage; and if differences were wisely distinguished we should have more peace, and never the lesse truth among us." (p. 16).

‡ *The dutie and danger of Swearing, opened in a sermon preached at York, 3 Feb. 1655, the day of swearing the Lord Mayor.* By Edward Bowles, M.A., Preacher of the Gospell there. Zech. v. 4. Printed and sold in York, by Tho. Broad, 1655. To the Hon. Stephen Watson, Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, &c., of York. The Introduction, dated 15th March, 1655,

the thought that possibly we might find that he had again come in contact with a people so much alive to the *danger* of swearing, that they insisted upon the *duty* of not swearing at all. But there is no indication of this in the sermon.§

Bowles took a very active part in public affairs after the death of Oliver Cromwell. The narrative of his intercourse with General Monk is somewhat tedious, but it shows how much Bowles did in concert with Thomas Lord Fairfax to promote the restoration of Charles II. They crossed over to Holland together and were amongst those who waited upon the king at Breda, when he made his celebrated declaration on behalf of liberty of conscience. Fairfax and Bowles swelled that triumphant train of returning Royalists who entered London on the 29th May, 1660, a festival still commemorated by the customs of Royal Oak Day. Both men shared to the full the intense disappointment of the Presbyterians, who had done so much to place Charles on the throne of England, when he broke the promises made at the Hague, and when the intoxicated Cavaliers began to wreak their vengeance on the living, and to offer unworthy indignities to the bones of the mighty dead.

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names "a weekly lecture which I apprehend to be very much neglected." "It will tend much to unity that you be very careful what ministers are planted among you, such as give some evidence of the Spirit of God dwelling in them, whose fruits are love and peace." The sermon is based on Matt. v. 33-34. Page 4. "'Swear not at all.' These words seem to be a direct prohibition of all oathes, and hence the Anabaptists have concluded the unlawfulness of swearing in any case; and it hath deceived some of the ancients, *e.g.*, Hierome." "Universal terms in Scripture are sometimes to be taken with restriction: Rom. vii. 18; 1 Cor. ix. 22." Page 6, Prop. i. "It is not utterly unlawful to swear." "It is utterly abominable to forswear." Page 10. "It is true, if men were as they ought, yea and nay might suffice instead of oathes . . . but we must take men as they are, with their defects of faith, truth, and knowledge, and the remedy of these defects, which is an oath, must continue." Page 21. "Give me leave to be particular and plain. You, my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, are under the band of an oath that you will diligently execute the office you are called unto according to your skill, power, and understanding. Hereby you are tacitly obliged to do your utmost to understand the duty of your places, and expressly bound to execute them to the utmost of your skill and power, which is a great word and hard to be performed." The treatise occupies twenty-two closely-printed small pages, and contains about 8,200 words. The Quakers are not mentioned in the sermon. One passage incidentally shows that those Bowles called Anabaptists styled themselves Baptists.

§ George Fox, however, devotes four and a half pages of his *Great Mistery*, 1659, to this sermon by Edward Bowles.—[EDITOR.]

Markham, in his life of Lord Fairfax, says :—

"Mr. Bowles, Lord Fairfax's chaplain and chief adviser, was equally indignant at the base conduct of Monk, and at the executions, acts of sacrilege, and treacherous persecutions, which were the results of the Restoration. Before returning to York, he went to (Monk) and said, 'You have given up your opportunities to do your country service, for a feather in your cap and a little trifling honour. But the Lord says of you as he did of Coniah, "Write this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days; for no man of his seed shall prosper." Your title will be mentioned as a reproach to yourself, and after your son has had it a little while, it will go out in a snuff. As for me, I have buried the good old cause, and am now going to bury myself.' At Doncaster, on his way north, he was met by several clergymen, to whom he bewailed the hand he had had in the Restoration." *

Great efforts were used by the court party to secure the adhesion of Bowles to the Episcopal church, but they were unavailing. He was offered the deanery of York, but declined it. He also received a pressing invitation from the inhabitants of Leeds to become their vicar, but this was prevented by the action of the Court. Bowles would seem to have been broken-hearted at the overthrow of the hopes he had formed from the accession of Charles II., and he died in 1662, in the prime of life. Had he lived a week longer there can be no doubt that he would have joined the 2,000 Nonconforming ministers who left the Church of England on the anniversary of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Death, however, overtook him a few days before that memorable event, and he was buried on the eve of the 23rd of August, 1662.

In summing up his character, Neal, the historian of the Puritans, says :—

"He was a wise and a prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent scholar, and an useful preacher. He attended Lord Fairfax when General Monk passed through Yorkshire, and presented an address to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the King's restoration, and waited on his majesty with Lord Fairfax at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered him, but not being satisfied with conformity, he was excluded the Minster, though he

* Markham's *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, 388.

continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterwards at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity."*†

Baxter and Palmer relate the following story :—

"One Mr. H—— conformed, and Mr. Bowles soon afterwards meeting him, said :—'Well, brother H——, how like you the Common Prayer ?' 'Truly,' said Mr. H——, 'it's but dry stuff.' 'I always thought so,' said Mr. Bowles, 'and suppose that may be the reason why our vicars choral run to the alehouse as soon as they have done reading it.'"

Edward Bowles does not seem to have been a great author. We have already referred to two of his works ; he also published one or two political tracts, which it will not be necessary to do more than enumerate. They constitute a part of the material from which our historians have constructed their pictures of the period of the Civil War. A pamphlet published in 1643, entitled *The Mysterie of Iniquitie yet working*, and another in 1646, called *Manifest Truths*, relating to the transactions of the Scotch army and Parliament, reflect the views of the Presbyterian party at the dates when these treatises were respectively published. But by far the most famous of Bowles' works has been his *Plain and Short Catechism*. This celebrity was not, however, secured till one hundred and seventy years after the death of the author.

To trace the chain of events which led up to this celebrity, we must turn back to the year 1651, at which time, it may be remembered, Lord and Lady Fairfax were living in retirement,

* *History of the Puritans*, iv., 391, 392.

† "Of this pious and excellent man," says Canon Raine, "even his opponents must speak with respect. He was the leader of the Nonconformists in the North, and the friend and patron of all good men. He died suddenly, a few years after the Restoration. During the Commonwealth he preached at the Minster, and at All Saints in the Pavement. There is a good deal about him in all the Puritan writers, and there are some interesting notices of him in the Fairfax correspondence, for he was greatly concerned in the stirring events of the times, having been chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax. There are several elegies on his death. Two of them are among the Rokeby Papers. One is by R. S., probably Richard Stretton. It is not worthy of being printed here, for it is little more than a metrical sermon. The author calls him—

'The glory of the North parts, York's right eye,
His brethren's right hand, one who from on high
Was furnished with incomparable parts
For the instructing minds and warming hearts.'"

spending most of their time at Nun Appleton near York. They had one daughter, Mary Fairfax, then about twelve years of age, a great favourite of her father, who was accustomed to call her "Moll." To instruct her in the classics Lord Fairfax secured the services of Andrew Marvell, son of the rector of Wanstead in Holderness. Andrew Marvell subsequently became the Member of Parliament for Hull, holding that position for many years, incorruptible in a time of general corruption, and one of the last members of Parliament who is stated to have received a salary from his constituency. We have not time to stop to speak of Marvell's fame as a poet and a satirist. His name may recall Whittier's introduction to a volume of poems, where he says :—

> "O Freedom! if to me belong
> Nor mighty Milton's gift divine,
> Nor Marvell's wit and graceful song,
> Still with a love as deep and strong
> As theirs, I lay, like them, my best gifts on thy shrine!"

Andrew Marvell, the member for Hull, was the frequent correspondent of Sir Henry Thompson, the Whig M.P. for York in the last three Parliaments of Charles II. Sir Henry Thompson founded the hospital for old men in Castlegate, on the opposite side of the street to the gates of the Friends' Meeting-house. He had for his colleague in the representation of the city another Whig member, Sir John Hewley. Sir John Hewley, who died 1697, and his wife, Lady Sarah Hewley, the daughter of Robert Woolrich, who survived till 1710, were persons of large property, attached to the Presbyterian worship and form of Church government. Lady Hewley left considerable property to be applied for charitable purposes. Some of her coal tickets are still annually distributed in York, but a much larger portion of her money was left for the support of almshouses, and for the maintenance of "Godly Preachers of Christ's Holy Gospel." The qualifications for admission to Lady Hewley's Hospital are before me. The old ladies who enjoy her bounty must be fifty-five years of age, and are to be able to repeat by heart the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, and Mr. Edward

Bowles' *Catechism.* The chain of associations we have traced explains why Lady Hewley should have esteemed so highly this catechism of Bowles. As the eighteenth century passed away, the *Catechism* came to be out of print and was forgotten. The Presbyterian congregation in York, in common with so many others throughout the country, lapsed into Unitarianism, and at the beginning of the present century a large part of the income arising from Lady Hewley's bequest was appropriated for the furtherance of Unitarian objects. This state of things led to one of the most celebrated litigations of the present century. Legal proceedings were commenced in 1830, with the view of getting this property out of the custody of the Unitarian trustees, on the ground that it was being applied for purposes different from those desired by the testator. Twelve years were consumed in the litigation that followed, and it was not till 1842 that a final decision was given by the House of Lords against the Unitarian trustees. The result was that Lady Hewley's property, including the interesting almshouses (now located in Saviourgate, York), were vested in the trustees of the three denominations,—the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists. The special point of connection between these proceedings and the subject of this paper is, that during the litigation just referred to, the precise meaning and doctrinal significance of Bowles' *Catechism* were discussed by the legal advocates, with the same acumen and elaboration of detail which characterise ecclesiastical lawyers when they are dealing with doctrinal statements, whether in the decrees of ancient Councils, or in the articles and rubrics of the Church of England.

The litigation respecting Lady Hewley's property led to a very important alteration in the law of England, which was embodied in the Dissenters' Chapels Act, 1844, carried through Parliament by the government of Sir Robert Peel. An interesting record of these events will be found in Martineau's *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace*, iii., 402. The government measure was strongly opposed by the majority ot the Nonconformist bodies, but we believe the principle it

embodies is now held to have been just. The principle of the bill, as defined by Martineau, is that "Places of worship which were not by the terms of the trust destined unmistakably for a particular sect were to remain the property of the body which had held them for twenty preceding years."

With the close of the Hewley litigation, and the alteration of the law just described, the *Catechism* of Edward Bowles sank again into the obscurity from which it had so unexpectedly emerged. How far the almsbodies in Lady Hewley's hospitals now occupy their time in meditating upon this document is not for me to say. The present writer has long been aware that proficiency in its contents was connected with admission to these comfortable dwellings. It is also many years since he first read the narrative of George Fox's visit to York at the Christmas of 1651; but only recently was it suggested to him that the minister in the cathedral on that occasion and the writer of the catechism were the same.

It has been an interesting task to trace out some of the particulars of his biography, to read his well-nigh forgotten writings, and to consider some of the historical incidents of his career. It is a singular fact that Bowles' memory will owe its preservation to an entry in the *Journal* of the man hustled down the Minster steps at the Christmas of 1651, and to his own short and simple *Catechism*, which, after a century of oblivion, was made famous by the ecclesiastical litigation of the Victorian age.

It is evident that Edward Bowles was one of the foremost citizens during the period of the Commonwealth. His life-history not only figures in the local records, but he bore a part in the national story. The man who carried to Westminster the news of the fight at Naseby, who was so active in promoting the restoration of Charles II., and who died of a broken heart when he saw the disappointment of his hopes, is one worthy to be remembered. He was not a prophet, like George Fox, with a message to the world and to the Church, but on a lower plane of action he served his generation according to his knowledge and his opportunities.

In the closing chapters of the Book of Ecclesiasticus the Son of Sirach asks his readers to do honour to famous men. He speaks of "Such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies; leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions." Of some of these he says, "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore"; and of others who have left no memorial, that "nevertheless they were honoured in their generation and were the glory of their times." Of the latter class was Edward Bowles.

CHAPTER XIII.

SAMUEL TUKE.*

WHILST the Minster bells were ringing joyous chimes in the May-time of 1660, for the Restoration of Charles II., the York Kidcote, a prison upon Ouse Bridge, was tenanted by a sufferer for conscience' sake—a William Tuke who had taken up his civic freedom in 1629, and belonged to the local congregation of Friends. His son and namesake died in the reign of Queen Anne, being succeeded by a Samuel Tuke, whose son William was the grandfather of the subject of this paper. William Tuke was a notable man. Born in 1732, he fulfilled the prediction of a physician, "That pulse will beat to ninety," by not dying until 1822. His first wife was Elizabeth Hoyland, of Sheffield, 1754-60. He afterwards married Esther Maud, of Bingley, who bears the responsibility of having been a prime mover in the establishment of the Women's Yearly Meeting. Her stepson, Henry Tuke, born 1755, married, in 1781, Mary Maria Scott, daughter of Faville Scott, of Norwich. Henry Tuke died before his father. He was a minister of the Gospel, and an author of some note. His works were edited in four volumes, and a life of the author prefixed to them, by Lindley Murray, the grammarian.

Samuel, the second child of Henry and Mary Maria Tuke, was born on the last day of July, 1784. When very young he went, as a day-scholar, to the girls' school established in 1785 by his grandparents in Trinity Lane, York.

William Tuke had been a colleague of Dr. Fothergill in the founding of Ackworth School, and to his daughter, Sarah Grubb,

* From the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1895.

we are indebted for the earliest account of that institution. These associations may have predisposed Henry and Mary Maria Tuke to send their little boy to Ackworth in 1792, when he was but eight years old. His name stands No. 1429 on the long roll of Ackworth scholars. After a stay of two years he was transferred to George Blaxland's school, at Hitchin, where his aunt, Elizabeth Wheeler, was then residing. At the age of thirteen his school-days ended, and he entered his father's wholesale tea and coffee business. Many years after this, when Samuel Tuke had become a member of the Ackworth School Committee, he expressed the sentiment that the children were more affected by Gospel ministry at the time he was a scholar than in after years. He thought his own heart very hard because he did not weep as so many of the boys around him did. Samuel Tuke has left a very informing memorandum respecting the surroundings of his early life, from which, as well as from other indications, it may safely be inferred that home influences were more powerful in moulding his character than were his schools. He says :—

"Though not born in the midst of wealth, every real want of life was provided for me, and I luxuriated in all the riches of maternal love, and in the warm affections of the kindest of fathers. Both he and my mother feared God, and served Him in their daily walk. It was my happiness in very early life to have a father who taught me the truth, and made it appear lovely by his constant example ; who, though delighted to see me pleased and happy, exercised a steady, gentle rule and his word was not to be gainsaid. But what shall I say of my mother ? Never were parents and child more bound together than we were. Her lessons distilled into my heart like the dew, albeit I was not without strange opposing propensities and doubts. The Divine omniscience puzzled me much ; but my dear mother had no difficulty in giving me a reasonable answer to my childish objections. She had indeed an extraordinary power of teaching by analogies, and of opening the hearts of her children to her instructions ; but her chief dependence for the rebutting of my silly quibbles with respect to the attributes of God, was an appeal to my own conscientious convictions, my inward sense of the power and goodness of Him whom I had been taught to call 'my Father in Heaven.' She saw how much many of the matters which occupied

my thoughts were connected with an inward desire to quiet my conscience ; and it was her great aim to lead me to recognise that as a Divine monitor, which, when very young, convinced me of my naughty ways and thoughts, and made me feel sorry for them, when no human being knew of them. And I came to believe that God was round my path, and that He did know all my secret ways and thoughts ; and this belief did more thoroughly solve all my doubts respecting the Divine Being than any arguments or reasons that I ever heard."

Politically, Samuel Tuke was nurtured in a Tory home. His relatives were warm admirers of the younger Pitt, and shared the prevailing middle-class horror of the excesses of the French Revolution. In 1796, Henry Tuke had published an address to Friends, in which he had said that in his opinion it was consistent with their principles, as well as most likely to prevent their entering into the spirit of political parties, wholly to decline voting for Members of Parliament. When the amiable writer of these not very logical words, and his father, were in London attending the Yearly Meeting of 1807, the great election came on in which Wilberforce, Milton, and Lascelles contended for the representation of the then undivided county of Yorkshire. Samuel Tuke startled his friends by forthwith subscribing £50 on behalf of the firm in which he was junior partner, towards the expenses of Wilberforce's election. His father's address, just mentioned, must for the time have been consigned to a deep oblivion, for the whole of the family circle threw themselves with extraordinary energy into the contest. The result of the fourteen days' poll, Wilberforce leading by a substantial majority, rejoiced their hearts, and those of a wide circle of Yorkshire Friends, who shared their intense abhorrence of negro slavery.

William Wilberforce formed a warm friendship with his young and ardent supporter. When attending a Bible Society meeting at Chichester, in 1819, James Hack was introduced as the father of Samuel Tuke's wife. "Ah," said Wilberforce, "my old friend Mr. Tuke. He is a second William Penn. Indeed, there are three in succession." Many years later, when Wilberforce was dead, and a monument had been erected to his

memory, Samuel Tuke said that he shivered when he looked at the statue of his old friend encircled by the rain and smoke of Hull.

It was not in the sphere of politics that Samuel Tuke chiefly served his generation. Whilst the order of his mind was conservative, his love of justice and the strength of his understanding made him a friend of progress and a hater of abuses. He persuaded the Friends of York to introduce gas into their Meeting-house, by undertaking to bear the cost, if, when introduced, the congregation should then wish to return to tallow candles. As the Reform era of 1832 drew on, Samuel Tuke ranged himself along with the popular party. A report has been preserved of a speech in the ancient Guildhall, which, says the local paper, "excited the most intense interest, and drew forth repeated cheers." This speech was a very able defence of Lord John Russell's measure; a conservative line of thought running through an eloquent exposition of sound Whig doctrines.

In the election of 1833, when the Reform cause had triumphed, many citizens of York wished that Samuel Tuke should represent the city in Parliament. The requisition presented to him, and his answer declining the proffered honour, are characteristic documents. A letter from Joseph John Gurney, who had been solicited to stand for Norwich, and who discusses the question from the standpoint of a minister in the Society of Friends, reached Samuel Tuke at this time. There can be little doubt but that both these men did wisely in declining Parliamentary duties. Samuel Tuke's delicate moral susceptibilities, with the absence of natural buoyancy and hopefulness, would almost certainly have made attendance at Westminster irksome and distasteful. There was work for him to do for his fellows, which not one of the six hundred Members of Parliament could have done as well as he could, whilst there were many who were far better fitted for the work of practical politics. On the occasion referred to, the electors of York found in Thomas Dundas, afterwards Earl of Zetland, a representative who possessed many of the qualifications which Samuel Tuke had taught them to look for in a Member

of Parliament. On the declaration of the poll, Samuel Tuke spoke with singular force and eloquence, and in a strain of sanguine anticipation unusual for him. His hopes of a permanent reform having been effected in the conduct of Parliamentary elections, were, however, soon disappointed, and at the election of 1835 the old system of bribery was so rampant that Samuel Tuke refused to vote. Henceforward the bias of his mind was in the direction of a diminishing reliance on political changes for effecting moral and social progress.

The condition of Ireland occupied a great place in Samuel Tuke's thoughts in the last ten or twelve years of his life. His son, James Hack Tuke, had been the colleague of William E. Forster in helping to feed the hungry people during the Irish famine.

In 1847, fever was rife amongst the Irish population in York. Samuel Tuke induced the poor law guardians to provide a hospital, and lent one of his fields for its site—the tenant arguing, "The coos wouldn't tak' t' fever." Samuel Tuke frequently visited the patients. Amongst his latest letters were several addressed to Jonathan Pim, recommending for the sister island ameliorative measures, many of which have been adopted since.

Samuel Tuke entered with vigour upon his business life, and was successful in its conduct. The vocation he would have liked to pursue was that of medicine. His father overruled this desire, but Samuel Tuke read so much in medical literature that when he published his *Description of the Retreat*, many readers thought that the author had been a physician. As the Retreat was founded in the same year that Samuel Tuke went to Ackworth School, he may have heard the family discussions that led up to that event, and thus been predisposed to that interest in the welfare of the insane which distinguished him throughout the whole course of his life.

The history of mental disease and its treatment is a sad, though in some senses a fascinating chapter in human history. Time would utterly fail even to enumerate the strange remedies which were employed. They will be found well described in the

early pages of a volume published by the late Daniel Hack Tuke, M.D., entitled *Chapters in the History of the Insane in the British Isles*. In this volume the relations of the Church towards the insane in the Middle Ages are traced; then the establishment, at a later period, of Bethlehem Hospital, and the growth of abuses in private mad-houses in the opening years of the eighteenth century, as depicted by the vivid pen of Defoe.

Standing to the east of the north road out of York is a large red brick building, the Bootham Asylum for the Insane. It had been in existence about fifteen years, when, in 1791, the relatives of a patient who was a member of the Society of Friends were refused access to her, and shortly afterwards were informed that she was dead. Suspicions of neglect, and even of cruelty, were aroused; and the event impressed William Tuke with the desire to establish a home for the mentally afflicted in the Society of Friends, to be managed by members of their own communion on humane and Christian principles. The proposal was novel, and when submitted to the Friends of Yorkshire in the spring of 1792, was coldly received. William Tuke's wife, Esther, was herself hostile to her husband's scheme, saying he had so many children emanating from his brain, and that "his last child was going to be an idiot." On the other hand, his son Henry steadily supported the proposal, and Mary Maria Tuke happily suggested "Retreat" as the name of the proposed asylum. William Tuke did not let the matter rest. He visited asylums, amongst others, St. Luke's Hospital in London, where he found naked patients, lying chained on filthy straw. Reanimated by what he had seen in these homes of misery, he renewed his proposition at the York Summer Quarterly Meeting of 1792. It would again have failed, but for the persuasive tact of his son Henry, who supplied the *suaviter in modo*, which was lacking in his father's *fortiter in re*. Lindley Murray was one of the band of philanthropists who watched with warm solicitude over the projected Retreat. The site selected was one from which Fairfax and Leslie had cannonaded York in 1644. Here, a century and a half later, the institution which was to reply affirmatively to

Macbeth's query, "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" had its modest beginnings.

William Tuke is the central figure in its early management. His brother-in-law, Timothy Maud, a surgeon of Bradford, was to have been his helper, but his unexpected death compelled William Tuke to superintend the establishment himself for about twelve months. Dr. Fowler and Dr. Cappe were enlightened medical advisers, but very much of the success of the holy experiment was due to another Bradford man, George Jepson, of whom Samuel Tuke says, "He was almost entirely a self-taught man, yet so highly esteemed in his neighbourhood that he was the counsellor of many of the country people for miles round his residence, in some of their most important private concerns, and he may be said to have been a medical practitioner." George Jepson and his excellent wife assumed the superintendence of the Retreat in 1797. Of the association between George Jepson and William Tuke, Samuel Tuke says, "It was indeed a rare occurrence of circumstances which brought together two minds—one so capable to design largely and wisely, the other so admirably fitted to carry such designs into execution. The two men, though exceedingly different, were one in an earnest love to God and man, in disinterestedness and decision of character, and therefore in a steady, constant perseverance which works upward wherever truth and duty lead."

More patients came to the Retreat than had been at first expected. The institution flourished, and supporters gathered round it when it was seen that the humane treatment practised there was far more successful in the cure, or, if that were impossible, in the amelioration of the condition of the insane than the harsh and cruel measures before practised.

Samuel Tuke was hardly less interested in watching the progress of the Retreat, and, indeed, in the whole subject of the right treatment of insanity, than were his father and grandfather. In 1804, he is corresponding on these subjects with Dr. Hancock, then residing in Edinburgh. In 1810, he makes this entry in his journal: "I intend to collect all the knowledge I can in the theory

of insanity, the treatment of the insane, and the construction of asylums. For this purpose to collect and compare facts rather than books; also to avail myself of any opportunity of ascertaining the state of lunatic paupers in places where I may happen to travel." In the next year he contributed to *The Philanthropist*, a periodical work edited by William Allen and others, a paper on "The Condition of Insane Paupers," in which he described a visit he had himself paid to a workhouse in the South of England, where in the depth of a severe winter, confined in narrow cells, he found women absolutely without clothes, and men chained to posts in their apartments.

Whilst the operations of the Retreat were necessarily on a somewhat restricted scale, 149 patients being admitted between 1796 and 1811, its influence soon began to extend far beyond its own walls. As early as 1798, its work was known and recognised on the Continent by Dr. de la Rive, and in 1801 by Pinel, who in Paris had begun an enlightened treatment of insanity on lines very similar to those adopted by William Tuke. The two men worked for some time in entire ignorance of that which the other was doing, Pinel being somewhat the earlier in the field.

In the interests of the insane everywhere, it was desirable that the results of the experiment made at the Retreat should be more widely known. Consequently in 1811, at his father's request, Samuel Tuke began to write a *Description of the Retreat*, and, to obtain more time for this engagement, discontinued his study of the Hebrew language, in which he had been engaged. The book was published in 1813. Respecting it, its author writes, "The work was commenced in a deep sense of the sufferings of the insane. Their afflictions have often been present with me in my retirement before God, and my prayer has been that for the cares of the poor and needy who have no helper He would arise. May He prosper this imperfect effort to awaken public sympathy towards them." The publication of this book marked an era in the treatment of insanity. Sydney Smith, then living at Foston Rectory, reviewed it in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*. The witty writer had himself visited the

Retreat, and warmly commended the institution, saying, "It is an example of patience, courage, and kindness, which cannot be too highly commended or too widely diffused, and which we are convinced will greatly bring into repute a milder and better method of treating the insane. . . . . The present account is given by Mr. Tuke, a respectable tea-dealer, living in York, and given in a manner which we are quite sure the most opulent and important of his customers could not excel." There were, however, critics who looked upon the description of the Retreat with very different eyes from those of the Edinburgh reviewer. An anonymous writer, afterwards discovered to be the physician at the York Asylum, complained, in the local papers, that the object of the work was to injure other institutions. A prolonged and heated controversy followed, brought to a dramatic close on one of the last nights in 1813, when the north-western buildings of the Asylum were discovered to be in flames. The origin of the fire was never ascertained. Four patients at least perished in the flames. The opposition to reform was now overcome, a deplorable state of things being disclosed, which in time was replaced by the same humane and rational system of treatment that had already been tested at the Retreat.

In 1815, Samuel Tuke published another work, *Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums*. In 1841, he wrote an introduction to a work, by Dr. Jacobi, *On the Construction and Management of Hospitals for the Insane*. After William Tuke's death, his grandson succeeded him as treasurer of the Retreat.

Whilst the energies of Samuel Tuke's character went forth in certain well-marked channels, a biographer would be guilty of a grave blunder who should represent him as a man dominated by a few special hobbies, however important.

John Pease, speaking at his funeral, said:—

"Large was the circle in which the deceased moved, civilly, socially, and religiously. Large is the vacant place caused by his death. By birth and training he was well fitted for the position he held; but whilst the powers of his mind seemed so well adapted for

discharging the duties of that position with propriety and acceptance, it was the riches of Divine grace which prepared and enabled him to accomplish his work."

We have seen at what an early age Samuel Tuke entered on business life. In this he was diligent and successful, though not to the exclusion of diligence in the cultivation of his mental and spiritual nature. His systematic study of the phenomena of mental disease has already been referred to. When travelling on behalf of his firm, Foster's *Essays* and Milton's poems were his favourite companions, whilst a portion of Scripture reading closed the engagements of every day. At the age of twenty-four we find him recording a resolution to read some portion of the Old or New Testament daily, and to appropriate some portion of the day to internal examination ; " frequently to call to mind the true nature of my situation and relation, as regards this and the next life, and to recollect that though we can do nothing of ourselves alone, yet that we must co-operate with the Divine power."

In 1810, at the age of twenty-six, Samuel Tuke married Priscilla Hack, of Chichester. Eighteen years of most happy married life succeeded, terminated by the death of Priscilla Tuke, leaving her partner a widower with a numerous family, in whose bringing up he was greatly helped by his sister, Maria Tuke. This great sorrow shadowed the remainder of Samuel Tuke's life.

The early connection of his family with the Society of Friends has been already referred to. Any accurate picture of the subject of this sketch must give prominence to the place occupied by his Quaker ancestry and training in the moulding of his character. If he had not been a Friend he might probably have been both a great and a good man, but he would not have been the man he was. He might have been a skilful physician, or a wise philanthropist, or an eminent judge ; but our concern is with him as he was.

He had an hereditary training in the details, as well as in the spirit of the Quaker polity. He occupied, in succession, many

official stations in the Society, including those of clerk to his Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, whilst for six years he was clerk to the Yearly Meeting, over which he presided with distinguished ability and Christian courtesy. It was the time when the Society was agitated by the discussions arising out of the publication of the *Beacon* by Isaac Crewdson. Very few of those who assisted in those discussions remain to tell of the skill with which Samuel Tuke guided the Yearly Meeting. We have seen old men kindle with enthusiasm, as they have told of the strong feeling excited by the events of 1835-6-7; of the strife of tongues, of the opposing counsels which found expression on every hand, till it sometimes seemed hopeless to try to record, in denominational phraseology, "the sense of the meeting." Then uprose the clerk, who disentangled the essential threads of the discussion, set aside or disregarded the irrelevant side issues which had been imported into it, showed seemingly antagonistic speakers that they were not so far separated as they had thought and that any document issued by the Yearly Meeting must give due expression to the truth on which each had insisted. By the time the clerk's summing-up was ended, the meeting was ready to accept his minute, sketched in perspicuous and sometimes stately English, wherein men of different lines of thought found their views expressed better than they could have expressed them themselves, though in association with complementary declarations of Divine truth, which gave to the whole the impress of harmonious unity.

Whilst speaking of Samuel Tuke's abilities as a clerk, it may be fair to mention that he was not always the easiest man for other clerks to sit by. His singularly active mind and quick perceptions were not always under the same severe control as when presiding over the Yearly Meeting. Fifty years ago, the Query whether the necessities of the poor were properly inspected and relieved was wont to be answered by the prosperous representatives of one congregation in the terms, "We have no poor requiring relief; nor the children of such, education." "More's the pity, more's the pity," was the mental comment which the

clerk of the Monthly Meeting heard Samuel Tuke murmuring to himself, *sotto voce*.

When engaged in deep thought, Samuel Tuke would be long silent, even when walking with a friend, and then unconsciously say a few words, the significance of which not necessarily being apparent to his companion, to the question, "What did thou say, Samuel Tuke?" would perhaps come the reply, "Ah! did I speak? It was only a thought thawing."

About the year 1830, Samuel Tuke was concerned by observing how many failures in business had occurred amongst the circle of Friends in Yorkshire. His attention was also drawn, whilst serving upon the Ackworth School Committee, to the need of more provision for assurance at death, as well as for the opportunity of obtaining immediate or deferred annuities, by teachers and others, earning salaries dependent for their continuance on health and ability. In the autumn of 1831, whilst engaged on religious service in Westmorland, he wrote to John Hipsley (husband of his aunt Mabel), suggesting that he should submit a proposition for the establishment of a new institution to supply the wants just indicated, at the approaching Quarterly Meeting at York. The Friends' Provident Institution enjoyed a more propitious advent than did the York Retreat forty years before. A suggestion for the foundation of an assurance office had already been made in general terms at the Ackworth General Meeting of 1831. The Quarterly Meeting, or at least a conference of Friends held during its sittings, now appointed a committee to collect information and to prepare rules. Samuel Tuke acted as chairman, and Benjamin Ecroyd as secretary, to this provisional committee. Gradually, with the aid of Mr. Newman, of the Yorkshire Fire and Life Assurance Company, the scheme took definite shape, and in a more mature form was submitted to the Ackworth General Meeting of 1832. We have seen that William Tuke had been associated with Bradford through his second marriage, as well as by his long friendship with George Jepson. In the struggle for the reform of the York Asylum, the Tukes had been helped by their relative, William Maud, and by the

purse of John Hustler, both Bradford men, and Benjamin Ecroyd's residence in the same town probably helped to fix the institution at Bradford. I cannot deal more concisely with Samuel Tuke's early connection with the Friends' Provident Institution, and his views upon life assurance, than by quoting a few sentences from the report of the institution for 1858 :—

" It is with feelings of peculiar interest the directors have to notice the decease of Samuel Tuke, who may be regarded as the founder of this institution, for it was he who, prompted by suggestions contained in the unpublished writings of his grandfather, William Tuke, in the year 1808, first brought the desirableness and practicability of such an establishment prominently into view, and was the man who, with the aid of able coadjutors, called it into existence, and prepared it to diffuse its benefits to those who might avail themselves of its provisions. The directors think they cannot pay a better tribute to the memory of their old friend than by recording his own words in reference to the institution : ' A truly wise man may find many avenues of wealth closed to him, and in the pursuit of those which are lawful he is under the restraining influence of principles which refer to higher and nobler acquisitions. But industry in business, prudence in expenditure, and some restraint in present indulgences, with a view to a moderate provision for future wants of life, and for those who are dependent upon us, are among the general effects of a sound religious state of mind ; and, on the contrary, the idea that the pursuit of religion calls for the abandonment of the cares of life, that it is compatible with indolence or with the free expenditure of our money upon what is unnecessary for us when we have made no provision for the probable and almost certain wants of sickness, age, or other vicissitudes of life, is utterly at variance with true wisdom, and with that godliness which is profitable for all things, for the life which now is and for the life which is to come.' "

Samuel Tuke was in the prime of life when he began to speak as a minister of the Gospel. Lee's portrait is said to be a good representation of him at this period ; it was taken whilst he was preaching. He was an admirable speaker, whether on the platform or in the meeting-house gallery. His voice was clear and sonorous, and he had a command of appropriate words for

the accurate expression of his meaning, such as very few men possess.*

Those who have followed this narrative thus far will have recognised that Samuel Tuke was a man who combined natural and acquired gifts of no common order ; but behind all these lay a deep spiritual experience. We have already noted his apprehension when a child of the Divine presence. With him " the child was father to the man," and all his days " bound each to each by natural piety." The opening of 1824 was a season of special spiritual visitation, which came in connection with a lively sense of the largeness of the blessings which had been showered upon him in his home life, in the prosperity which attended his outward affairs, and above all, he adds, in the continuance of spiritual favour,

" of that grace and good spirit striving in the heart pointing out the way in which I ought to walk, and, blessed be His great and adorable name, enabling me in degree to bow to His will and to take up His cross. As to the process of the work in the soul, it is of Divine mercy and nothing of human merit. It is God who inspires us with the desire to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling ; He worketh in us both to will and to do of His good pleasure. For some months past I have felt a greater desire to devote myself entirely to the Divine will, and a greater power over the desires of the natural mind, than for several years past ; but I write this with fear recalling the admonition, ' Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' "

Any sketch of the life of Samuel Tuke would be singularly incomplete that left out of view his manifold labours on behalf of Christian education, and his insight into the principles on which it should be conducted. We have already seen that his family were almost as closely identified with the cause of education as they were with reform in the treatment of the insane. It was in the year of his birth that his grandparents established the

* Joseph Bevan Braithwaite once said :—" Samuel Tuke's eloquence was delightful ; his choice of words singularly chaste, his manner calm and impressive, his enunciation distinct and clear. With the possible exception of John Bright at his best, I never remember a speaker to whom it was a greater pleasure to listen."

school for girls at York, which pursued its notable career to the year 1814. In 1850, Samuel Tuke wrote respecting this school :—

"It was a noble effort of disinterested Christian love. The women Friends who were engaged in it as shareholders were religiously concerned for the right education of their own sex, and most, if not all the parties who were engaged as teachers may be said to have been, according to their measure, like-minded. They were chiefly volunteers, who sought in the care and deeply instructive society of the matron of the institution, and her valued husband who entered heartily into the engagement, a safe shelter and useful employment."

After naming some of the chief helpers in the School, he continued :—

"The domestic evening readings in the family were solemn and instructive. Three, if not four members of the family became ministers during their service in the school. It was the practice for Friends travelling in the ministry to take up their abode in the family during their stay in the city, and they had, it is believed, both by example and exhortation, a profitable influence on the children under their care. I have no doubt that the longing desires of the caretakers were often, or at least often appeared to them to be disappointed ; yet, having known the institution well in the first few years, and the scholars who passed through it and have survived to rather a recent period, I have no hesitation in expressing the sentiment that the lively piety of its founders in their educational exertions was blessed in no common degree ; yet let me leave a word of warning to my friends not to suppose that by money and good wishes they can produce the same effects."

The last sentence is singularly characteristic of the writer. No inconsiderable part of his life was spent in founding, teaching, and administering schools. He joined the Ackworth Committee in 1812. About the same period he united in the foundation of a British School for girls, and of a public lending library, in York. In the year which witnessed the fight at Waterloo, he was teaching an Adult First-day School ; he sometimes mentions in his diary the presence of twenty scholars. He also himself taught the prisoners in York Castle. He proposed the establishment of the Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting's Boys' School, and

joined two years later in promoting that of the Girls' School. He supported John Hipsley and others in the foundation of Rawdon School. He was one of the original trustees of the Flounders Institute. At an earlier period he took an active part in personally investigating the state of education amongst the poor in York, and was a munificent supporter of the Boys' British School. But more worthy of note than his labours amidst all this educational machinery was his comprehension of, and steady insistence upon, the fundamental principles which underlie education, in the true meaning of that often misapplied word. It was at the gatherings of the Friends' Educational Society, held at the times of the Ackworth General Meetings in the forties, that its president had the opportunity for those luminous expositions of the philosophy of education, deduced largely from the facts elicited by his own historical researches, which now, after the lapse of many years, remain eloquent reminders that man cannot be put into an educational lathe to be turned out like a piece of furniture ; that whilst schools have their service of exceeding value, and whilst the work of teachers is one of the noblest of professions, yet to parents is given, in the Divine economy, an influence which cannot be delegated to any one.*

We can do little more than note, in passing, Samuel Tuke's work as an author.† His *Selections from the Epistles, &c. of George Fox*, his *Memoirs of the Life of Stephen Crisp*, and his *Memoirs of George Whitehead* deserve to be more read than they are. Samuel Tuke's attitude towards the first generation of Friends was very sympathetic. He was far from being an indiscriminate apologist for all that they did and wrote, but undoubtedly he felt a very close fellowship with their spirits; and he entertained a profound admiration for the depth of their insight into Divine things, and the whole-heartedness of their consecration to Christ. His introduction to *Selections from the Epistles, &c., of George Fox* shows his appreciation of the character of the writer, and the spiritual affinity he cherished with the truths embedded in those rugged, broken sentences.

* See *Five Papers*. † See pp. 420, 421.

Samuel Tuke was a reader and admirer, too, of the more mystical writings of Isaac Penington. The following passage was one of his favourites :—

"It is not enough to hear of Christ, or read of Christ ; but this is the thing—to feel Him my root, my life, my foundation ; and my soul engrafted into Him, by Him who hath power to engraft. Rest not in an outward knowledge, but come to the inward life, and receive life from Him who is the Life ; and then abide in and live to God, in the life of His Son; for death and destruction, corruption and vanity, may talk of the fame of Christ, who is the wisdom of God, but they cannot know or find out the place where this wisdom is revealed."

In drawing these notes to a close we may recall that Samuel Tuke has himself pointed out both the lessons to be derived from biographical study and the dangers which accompany it. In 1813, his relative, William Alexander, issued the first number of *The Annual Monitor*, a periodical work which was to be devoted in part to the publication of the memoirs of deceased Friends. In 1842, the editorship of this work was principally undertaken by Samuel Tuke, and he continued to assist in its preparation for several years. In the introductory remarks to *The Annual Monitor* of 1843, he says, in reference to former numbers, "Many an instructive or animating lesson, and many a solemn warning, have, we believe, passed from these pages to the minds of readers of every age and station in life." He then points out some of the dangers attendant upon publishing these notices of departed Friends. He speaks of the undue importance which survivors are apt to attach to the memories of those whom they have loved, and how affection prompts the desire to honour their memories. "It is thus," he says, "that monuments to the dead and laudatory epitaphs have been multiplied, and become part of a mere customary and false honour . . . and the same natural feeling which has led to the vain honours of the cemetery may indulge itself in our very humble records." Some wise remarks follow on the delicacy due to the deceased, in regard to the publication of the secret communings of their hearts, and the sacred relationship between themselves and God, of the

liability to over-estimate the value of death-bed expressions, though these may at times loudly "speak of the vanity of the world, and the value of the soul, . . . of the struggles of the stricken conscience, and the blood which speaketh better things than that of Abel; and there is seen the blessedness of the Christian pilgrim, leaning on the staff of his Lord, and ready to enter into the city of God." Subsequently he remarks that "it is no disparagement of true spiritual knowledge and feeling that these have their counterfeits in the human chambers of imagery"; and then, turning to the broad lessons to be derived from Christian biography, he adds:—

"It is both instructive and interesting to trace the circumstances under which sound Christian character has been formed and sustained, to review the experimental history of the religious life, and the practical evidences of a living faith in Christ. We are very desirous that all our biographical sketches should be characteristic, rather than eulogistic; and that a faithful portrait, exhibiting the shades, as well as the lights, of character should be presented to our readers."

In 1849, a paralytic affection withdrew Samuel Tuke from the activities of life. He rallied from the first attack, but never regained his previous powers. Whilst these sunset years were sometimes irradiated by the beauty of mellowed Christian experience, the nature of the complaint probably increased an already present tendency to gloom and spiritual discouragement, which it would be uncandid altogether to ignore, especially in view of the sound biographical canons just quoted.

Samuel Tuke's temperament was not naturally buoyant. He had not the habitual hopefulness which characterised his friend and colleague, James Backhouse. His views of his own spiritual state were sometimes morbidly mistrustful. His mind did not easily rest. It was ever at work, often pondering the sad enigmas of human life. That powerful intellect would again and again review the phenomena of mental disease. It was distressed at the evidences of sin, and at the deceitfulness of the human heart, as evidenced in personal experience, in the facts of every-day life, in the annals of the past, in the failures of

philanthropic and political schemes for the amelioration of the race, in the infirmities of even good men, or in the contentions within the Church. There was no exemption from private sorrows, and a sensitive conscience, trained from childhood, kept a lifelong censorship over the details of personal conduct. Thus "the still, sad music of humanity" was constantly sounding in the chambers of that master mind. It is not difficult to see why such a man was thought severe and unapproachable by many who knew him but slightly. There was nothing superficial in his character. His perceptions, feminine in their sensibility, in association with a masculine understanding, went to the root of things, and could lay bare with relentless force the weak places in crude or sentimental schemes. Samuel Tuke's mind was singularly free from the falsehood of extremes, hence he never could have been a great party leader; whilst his influence was invaluable in exposing the danger of exaggerated statements in dogma or philosophy.

It may be asked, If his conception of human nature was so humbling, was not his apprehension of the redeeming, transforming, purifying, ennobling power of the Gospel of Christ correspondingly comprehensive? Undoubtedly it was. But it seemed as if his mind could not but revert to the unwillingness of man to let the redeeming power of Christ do its full work.

In 1817, he attended a Quarterly Meeting at Leeds, and on returning he deplores the lack of labourers in the garden of the Society, and thinks his grandfather almost the last relic of a race of worthies whose like they may not look upon again.

"Why," he goes on to query, "are we so degenerate? Are the vessels saying to Him who formed them, 'What doest thou?' There is," he adds, "a great want of simple devotion amongst us. We wish to work in our own way, to eat our own bread and drink our own water, but yet to be called by the name of Christ. We wish to be called disciples, but are not willing to be conformed to the simplicity of our Master's birth, or the sufferings of His death."

If to the many talents entrusted to Samuel Tuke there had been added a larger and more joyful hopefulness, his service might have been even more fruitful than it was, and the pages of

his biography more cheerful reading. And yet as we review that biography in the perspective of the well-nigh forty years which have passed since his death, may we not say that there have been few, if any, lives in the present century more rich in teaching to the readers of this magazine? How—in his own favourite Scripture—is patience in running the Christian race stimulated by the example of one who might have adorned high judicial office, or commanded the applause of listening senates, but who better fulfilled his calling by discharging the duties of the merchant, the citizen, the philanthropist, and the Christian minister—not to speak of those within the sanctuary of home—and, in his sphere as a Friend, was eminently enabled to serve his fellow-men, and to glorify his Lord and Master.

The end came 14th October, 1857. On the evening preceding the fatal attack, the lines had been read :—

> "In Thee, my hiding-place divine,
> Be rest throughout life's journeyings given ;
> Then sweeter, holier rest be mine
> With Thee in heaven."

The last line struck a responsive chord, and the dying saint faintly repeated the words :—

> "With Thee in heaven."

Bibliographical Note.

The following list of publications by Samuel Tuke may prove of interest to readers :—

Treatment of the Insane : *Condition of Insane Paupers*, in *The Philanthropist*, 1811 ; *Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends . . . with plans, etc.* York, 8vo and 4to, pp. 227, 1813 ; Several Letters to York Newspapers on the Abuses of the York Asylum, 1813-14 ; *Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums . . Wakefield Asylum.* York, 8vo, pp. 55, 1815 ; Introductory observations on *The Construction and Management of*

Hospitals for the Insane, by Dr. Maximilian Jacobi, translated by John Kitching. London and York, 8vo, 1841; *Review of the Early History of the Retreat.* York, 8vo, pp. 50, 1846.

Slavery: *Account of the Slavery of Friends in the Barbary States, towards the close of the Seventeenth Century.* London, 8vo, pp. 24, 1848.

Biography: *Memoirs of the Life of Stephen Crisp, with selections from his works.* York, 12mo, pp. 440, 1824; *A Word in Season*, from Stephen Crisp's *Epistle of Tender Love*; *Memoirs of George Whitehead . . with an Appendix containing a selection from his works.* York, 2 vols, 12mo, pp. 295 and 356, 1830; *A Letter to John Wilkinson on . . his Letter of Resignation.* London, 8vo, pp. 53, 1836; *Selections from the Epistles, etc., of George Fox.* York, 12mo, pp. 460, 1825; London, 12mo, 1848; Philadelphia, 12mo, 1858.

Christian Discipline: *Remarks on the Observation made on the Discipline of the Quakers by the Monthly Reviewers in their Examination of William Rathbone's Narrative and Memoir (Amicus).* London, 8vo, pp. 20, 1806; *On the Origin of the Christian Discipline established among Friends* as introduction to *Book of Discipline.* London, 1834, 1861, 1883, 1906. Also published separately; *A Few Thoughts on the Serious Character of the Objects of a Yearly Meeting and the State of Mind suited to its Engagements.* By an invalid. London; *On the Character and Doctrine of the Early Friends.* Tract No. 102 of Friends' Tract Association. London, 12mo.

Education: *Five Papers on the Past Proceedings and Experience of the Society of Friends in connection with the Education of Youth.* York, 8vo, pp. 128, 1834.

Miscellaneous: *Sermon* preached at Devonshire House Meeting-house, London, in 1832, in *Addresses delivered by . . . of the Society of Friends.* London, 12mo, 1834; *Christmas Customs and Christian Morality* (Anon.). York, 12mo, 1835, 1836, pp. 8; *The Annual Monitor*, edited from 1842 to 1852; *The Identity of Religion in all Ages.* York, 12mo, 1845.

Lives of Samuel Tuke: *Memoirs of Samuel Tuke.* Only twenty-six copies printed for private circulation, in two volumes. Large 8vo, 1859; *Samuel Tuke, His Life, Work, and Thoughts.* By Charles Tylor. London, 8vo, 1900, pp. 283. See also *The Annual Monitor*, 1858, p. 173; and *The Dictionary of National Biography.*—[EDITOR.]

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

NOTICES OF OTHER WORKS BY J. S. ROWNTREE.

QUAKERISM, PAST AND PRESENT.

THIS "Inquiry into the causes of the decline of Quakerism in Great Britain and Ireland" gained the first prize of one hundred guineas in an open competition, held in 1858. The number and ability of the competing essays afforded, in the words of the examiners, "gratifying testimony to the interest which the subject has excited." The award was given in 1859, and signed by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, Rev. E. S. Pryce, and Professor J. P. Nichol, the prize essay being afterwards published by Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., of London.

Quakerism, Past and Present contains eight chapters. The line of argument adopted is stated in the preface, as follows: "The reader will find his attention first directed to the historical and social features of the epoch in which the Society of Friends arose, these having powerfully influenced the conduct of its founders. The author next examines the doctrines and practices of the early Friends, with especial reference to such of them as appear to have occasioned or accelerated the Society's decline. He then endeavours to ascertain the numbers of the Friends at different periods of their history, and to determine the extent of their recent diminution. The succeeding chapter (the fifth) is occupied with the second epoch of the Society's history, extending from the death of George Fox, in 1691, to the revival of the discipline in 1760. The sixth and seventh chapters examine the causes of decline which have most prominently manifested themselves within the last hundred years; and the essay is concluded by a summary of the previous argument, and a *resumé* of the whole case presented in a condensed form."

The author's conclusion is expressed in the last chapter, entitled, "Modern Causes of the Society's Decline," from which the following paragraphs are quoted:—

"On a recent occasion the Society of Friends expressed the opinion that its mission was far from accomplished—that there is a great work still before it. Reviewing the present aspect of Christendom, thoughtful members of many sections of the one true Church, anxious for the advancement of our common faith, will unite in this opinion. One point we regard as certain: there is so much of truth in its fundamental principles, when rightly understood, that they are indestructible; and whether the exposition of these truths remains with the Society of Friends, or passes into other hands, the knowledge of them can never again be banished from the earth. . . . No mystery hangs over the causes which have occasioned the decay of the body; many of those causes are still in operation, and if unremoved, can issue in but one result—the extinction of the Church which permits their continuance. It is not given to any Church to infringe with impunity on the rights of religious liberty, to narrow the basis on which it stands, or to frame the arrangements for religious exercises as if intended for beings differently constituted from men. The great lesson we deduce from the story of Quakerism closely corresponds with that drawn by the eloquent historian of the Puritans, from a review of their chequered experience. Describing a healthy Church, he writes: 'It must stand upon a generous basis; . . . its terms of communion must be few; it must hold the essentials of salvation (without which it were indeed no Church); and it must endeavour to comprehend those, whatever their weaknesses, who subscribe to the apostolic canon in their lives, and give sufficient evidence that they 'love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.' Other methods have been tried in vain. We know the price at which a rigid adherence to rubrical observances must be purchased. We have seen the consequences of a rigid uniformity, and we have seen the emptiness of a 'traditional' zeal. Shall we for ever tread in the erring footsteps of our forefathers?' *

"It was no part of the inquiry which this essay professes to answer, as to what are the remedies for the present condition of the Society of Friends; those who have perused the preceding pages will easily discover the direction in which the author apprehends these remedies may be found. If further suggestions be permitted, he would say, 'Cease to do evil'; stay these suicidal disownments for offences† which, if injudicious, are not immoral; widen the grounds of Christian fellowship; maintain 'unity in essentials, liberty in non-essentials'; and let 'charity prevail over all.' Then, 'ceasing to do evil,' the Society would 'learn to do well'; re-

* Marsden's *Later Puritans*, 472.

† Mainly, marrying one not a member of the Society, and paying church-rates and tithes.

suming the aggressive spirit of olden times, it would find unnumbered ways for its exercise; it would discover in this Island alone a population existing without the pale of Christian influences, more numerous than that which inhabited the whole of England in 1650, asking to be won for Christ; it would find that, when rightly understood, there is nothing incompatible between a belief in the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit and 'freedom of Gospel ministry,' and the prosecution of missions for instructing the ignorant and evangelising the heathen. In pursuing these fields of service, it would find no mental faculty could be dispensed with—no part of man's nature could be ignored; the human reason must occupy the sphere appointed by its great Creator; human instrumentality must be prayed for and encouraged—not, indeed, to the disparagement of spiritual agency—far otherwise. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it,' but all being done in dependence on the Divine blessing, with singleness of heart, and in the *manner God has ordained*, His Spirit would be richly poured out in accordance with ancient prophecy, and this section of the Church would experience a degree of prosperity as yet unknown to it; so, fulfilling some of the splendid and unaccomplished expectations of its founders, it might be the honoured instrument for widely extending the blessed kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

AN INQUIRY INTO THE TRUTHFULNESS OF LORD MACAULAY'S PORTRAITURE OF GEORGE FOX.

THIS book consists of two lectures and was published in 1861, by A. W. Bennett, of London. The preface explains that the lectures, originally delivered before a local association, were largely re-written, and added to for publication. This further use of the work was decided upon because no serious public objection had then been taken to that view of George Fox's character put forward in Lord Macaulay's *History of England*.

Put briefly, J. S. Rowntree's argument is that a man who in his actions continually showed himself great, wise, and in advance of his time, cannot have been the commonplace weakling whom Macaulay describes, even though it should be proved that in a few instances he was foolish or mistaken.

The first lecture gives a general description of the condition of English society in the reign of Elizabeth, and of the rise of the Puritan party. It proceeds to deal with the religious dissensions of succeeding

years—especially the beginning of the seventeenth century, during which George Fox was born. The early life and religious exercises of Fox are carefully pictured, as well as his spiritual development and commencement of public service. The author closes this lecture with an account of what may be called Fox's ecclesiastical statesmanship, including his treatment of the subject of Friends' marriages, of education in the Society, and of the establishment of the Friends' disciplinary system.

The second lecture deals with the presentation of Fox's character and work given by Lord Macaulay. The author examines this, and, with the help of numerous independent authorities, comes to a conclusion, entirely opposed to that of Lord Macaulay, which he summarises in the following words (extracted by the Editor from a fuller statement) :—

"All the evidence I have to adduce, is now before you ; it only remains for me briefly to retrace the ground we have travelled over. Neither the subject nor my materials are exhausted, but the narrow limits of a popular lecture are perhaps already transgressed. Nothing has been said of Fox's services in the cause of civil and religious liberty ; his plans for prison reform, and the amelioration of the penal code have been but distantly alluded to. It would be easy to show how far he was before his epoch on these, as on other subjects ; but surely the case we have examined this evening is far too strong to suffer from the exclusion of this surplus evidence. I believe every one in this room is now convinced that it is a *caricature* and not a *likeness* of George Fox, suspended in Macaulay's portrait gallery. That such should be the fact I much regret, for no popular historian has yet given to Fox his right place in the galaxy of England's great men—and could Lord Macaulay but have comprehended the man he has caricatured, he might have adorned his pages with a picture of singular beauty and interest ; for Fox's mind belonged to a class of which our country has produced but few representatives. . .

"The fixed points established by our preliminary researches have enabled us cheerfully to grant that George Fox sometimes argued illogically, sometimes wrote with great obscurity, and sometimes acted injudiciously—and yet to maintain, that after these deductions, a large balance of evidence remains unimpeached, amply sufficient to stamp him both a good and a great man.

"Lord Macaulay says George Fox was crazy ; we analysed some of the supposed proofs of madness—the seeing of visions and the casting out of devils, and demonstrated by numerous examples that a belief in supernatural interpositions has been far from uncommon, with men eminent for wisdom and for piety. His writings are as

unintelligible as corrupt Hebrew, says Lord Macaulay ; we succeeded in translating into modern English the one passage adduced in support of this statement ; we also read extracts from the earliest editions of his books, and found them at least intelligible. Yet we freely allowed that *action* rather than *authorship* was Fox's *forte*. His refusal to take off his hat, and his antipathy to bowing, are said to have been dictated by the most absurd reasons. On examination we discovered that the version of the scene before the Chief Justice, given by Lord Macaulay, was a palpable misrepresentation of facts, the real reasons for these refusals to comply with the ordinary customs of society being very different from what was asserted—in both cases high and holy considerations, leading Fox into a line of conduct which will be viewed variously by different persons ; but one that all must allow proved his integrity of purpose, so severe was the suffering it entailed upon him.

"Advancing to the next branch of our subject, I trust the theory which attributes to mere caprice the distinctive views and practices adopted by George Fox was proved to be erroneous ; and further, that so far from these being unheard-of novelties, there was hardly one which had not been upheld in previous ages of the Church—not seldom in the days of its greatest purity. The disturbance of public worship by some of the early Friends was the next topic discussed: allied to it was the sanctioning of certain fanatical actions that is alleged against Fox. I think substantial cause was shown for largely modifying the severity of the censure, with which our age visits these acts ; but we admitted they were blemishes in his character, which must be regretted. In conclusion, we examined and rejected Macaulay's theory, which attributes the good points of Quakerism to a revolution effected in its nature by Robert Barclay and William Penn. Extracts from the writings of Thomas Ellwood and William Penn, also from five modern authors,* corroborating my general positions, completed the case for the defence. In conducting it, my desire has been to set forth the simple truth—to avoid any offensive expression against the noble author I so widely differ from—and also to abstain from anything like a canonisation of George Fox.

"Simple justice is all I demand for him at the hands of the historian—he needs no more. In the historic portrait galleries of the seventeenth century—in that magnificent assembly where are ranged the likenesses of Cromwell and of Milton, of Hampden and Falkland, of Pascal, Baxter, Bunyan, Leighton, Penn, Russell, Sidney, Locke, and a host besides—let there be likewise an honest portrait of George Fox ; paint him, as Cromwell insisted on being painted—with all his

* *i.e.*, Carlyle, F. D. Maurice, Bancroft, R.A. Vaughan and Wm. Rhodes.

scars and with every wrinkle—and you will still have before you the figure of a *great* though a *humble* man, for he fervently said that it was by the grace of God, he was what he was "

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS: ITS FAITH AND PRACTICE.

JOHN S. ROWNTREE wrote several papers—some on current Society problems, others on public questions and antiquarian matters connected with his native city of York—not included or referred to in this volume. To meet the need for a good, short handbook to the history and faith of the Society of Friends, he also prepared a book of about one hundred pages, entitled:—*The Society of Friends: its Faith and Practice.* This was first published in March, 1901, since which time three editions have been called for. The first portion of the book is an historical introduction. Then follow "Faith and Polity of the Friends," "Christian Life and Practice," and a series of statistical and other notes. The book concludes as follows:—

"Recurring to the Apostle's counsel, be 'ready always to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope that is in you, yet with meekness and fear,' I recognise that it is in this meek spirit that the Friends should set forth their faith and practice. None know better than themselves that they are but a feeble people, as contrasted with what they might have been. Yet it would be a grave mistake to account them the representatives of a spent force. They still have a message to the members of other communities, as well as to those outside the Churches, including the agnostic; and their history is instinct with teaching for their own people. Their presentation of Christianity is one which pre-eminently requires the presence of spiritual life to commend it to its own professors or to others. In the absence of life, the very disuse of forms and ceremonies may itself develop an unlovely formalism, destitute of the beauty which may be embalmed even in a dead form. The profession of a Friend carrying with it large responsibilities, as well as ennobling privileges, demands the dedication of the whole nature. The Society has suffered from sometimes allowing integral parts of Gospel truth to be under-valued, but these losses have been slight compared with those that have attended the inroads of the worldly spirit, which under an endless variety of forms, is ceaselessly at enmity with God. It is a mistake to suppose that this spirit was not present in the earliest and most active days of the Society's history. It is also a mistake to account every change in

the outward manifestations of Christian life a token of declension. Every change must be judged on its own merits. A free, self-governing Church, believing in the constant presence in its midst of the Holy Ghost, should be able readily to adapt its procedure to the constantly changing requirements of the age. Many changes made from time to time in the usages of Friends have been signs of life: such have been the growth of anti-slavery, temperance, and missionary effort, practical interest in the education of their own members, and their extensive Sunday School work, particularly amongst adults.

"The moral and religious condition of the British nation at the opening of the twentieth century is marked by many points of similarity to that existing in the middle and later years of the seventeenth. In an age intoxicated by the accumulation of wealth, by the pursuit of pleasure, by the possession of great material forces, it is for the Friends still to witness in the walks of ordinary life to the reality and the nearness of the spiritual world, to urge the claims of the kingdom of Christ upon the reluctant allegiance of men, to insist that the changeless tokens of that kingdom, alike in individuals and in communities, are righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. This kingdom carries with it the credentials of its regal claims. The tests of spiritual and moral forces are their out-growths in human character. When Whittier writes:—

'In joy of inward peace, or sense
Of sorrow over sin,
He is His own best evidence,
His witness is within';

he does but put into English speech the truth on which the Apostle insisted when he besought the Roman Christians, by the mercies of God, to dedicate their whole selves as living sacrifices, that they might 'prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God.' If in this direction the Friends have a message to those outside the Churches, they believe there is a great need for the Churches themselves to be aroused to bear a clearer witness to the moral and spiritual side of Christianity, menaced as it is by the excessive veneration of ceremonialism, as well as by the intrusion of a music-hall morality, and the unspiritualising influences of wealth, pleasure, lust, and militarism.

One of our foremost historians has recently given the world his estimate of the Friends' work, in terms we should not have ventured to employ. We believe, however, that he has accurately defined the ideal which they have had set before them, and have sought to

live up to—subject, of course, to the manifold limitations and imperfections of humanity. No community can have been called to a loftier service, nor one less liable from the lapse of time to become obsolete. 'When the Quakers entered into history, it was indeed high time, for the worst of Puritanism was that in so many of its phases it dropped out the Sermon on the Mount. . . Quakerism has undergone many developments, but in all of them it has been the most devout of all endeavours to turn Christianity into the religion of Christ.'" *

* Morley's *Cromwell*, 429.

APPENDIX II.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Papal Supremacy abolished in England	1534
Tyndale's English Bible published	1536
Rise of Puritanism	1559
Robert Brown, the first "Independent"	1550 (?)–1633 (?)
Jacob Behmen	1575–1624
George Herbert	1593–1632
John Milton	1608–1674
English Bible, Authorised Version	1611
The Pilgrim Fathers	1620
Blaise Pascal	1623–1662
George Fox born	1624
Michael Molinos	1640–1696
John Bunyan	1628–1688
John Locke	1632–1704
Madame Guyon	1648–1717
George Fox began his Ministry	1647
Quakers. A name coined by Justice Bennet of Derby	1650
Settlement of Friends' earliest Meetings for Discipline	1653
James Milner and Richard Myer "went out into imaginations" (G.F.)	1653
More than Sixty Ministers declaring "the Truth"	1654
George Fox's imprisonment at Launceston	1655
One thousand Friends imprisoned in Great Britain; Mary Fisher and Anne Austin visit America. Fall of James Nayler	1656
General Meeting at Scalehouse, Skipton; Collections to promote visits of Friends beyond the seas. *Death of Cromwell.* Yearly Meeting at John Crook's, Bedfordshire	1658
Martyrdom of Mary Dyer, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra, and William Robinson, at Boston.	1659–1660
Restoration of Charles II.	1660

John Perrot and Charles Baily "turned aside from the unity of Friends and Truth" (G.F.) - - 1661
4,200 Friends prisoners. Death of Edward Burrough - 1662
Act of Uniformity. St. Bartholomew's Day. Ejectment of 2,000 *Nonconformist Ministers* - - - 1662
George Fox imprisoned in Lancaster and Scarborough Castles - - - - - - 1663-1666
Conventicle Act passed - - - - - 1664
Establishment of Monthly Meetings - - - 1666–1667
Five Mile Act passed - - - - - 1665
Friends' Marriage Procedure revised. Waltham and Shacklewell Schools. *Milton's "Paradise Lost"* - 1667
Robert Barclay and William Penn join the Friends - 1667-1668
"Canons and Institutions" issued. (Published in adverse pamphlet, 1669.) Recommended that disorderly walkers be exhorted and report made; provision made for children of first marriages; children to be trained up in the fear of the Lord; and books to be provided for registering Births, Marriages and Burials.
William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," Part I. Marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell - - - 1669
Further Regulations on Marriage Procedure promulgated. *Conventicle Act renewed.* Great persecutions of Friends; trial of William Penn and William Meade 1670
George Fox recommends that the condemnation of such as went out from truth into disorderly practices, and the repentance and restoration of such as returned again, be recorded in a book for that purpose. G.F. visits West Indies - - - - - 1671
Liberation of many Friends from prison, also of John Bunyan. George Fox visits Maryland - - 1672
First Representative Yearly Meeting in London - - 1673
Great opposition to settlement of Women's Meeting for Discipline. William Penn's "Alexander the Coppersmith." *Test Act passed* - - - - 1673
Meeting-house built in New York. New York a Quaker Colony - - - - - - 1674
Wilkinson-Story separation. Opposition to Women's Meetings and the Friends' discipline generally - 1675
George Fox's "Encouragement to all the Women's Meetings in the world." Robert Barclay's "Anarchy of the Ranters," and "Apologia." Drawwell Conference, lasting four days - - - 1676

George Fox visits Holland and Germany - - 1677
One hundred and forty-nine names of Meetings of Quakers in North and West Ridings of Yorkshire officially recorded - - - - - - 1677–1716
Spirit of separation rife. Wilkinson, Story and Rogers - 1677
"*Pilgrim's Progress*" (Part I) *published* - - 1678
W. Rogers' "Christian Quaker" - - - 1680–1682
William Penn's "State of Liberty Spiritual" - - 1681
William Penn founds Philadelphia. Thomas Ellwood's "Antidote to William Rogers." Great persecution 1682
William Rogers' "Scourge" and "Second Scourge for George Whitehead" - - - - 1683–1684
George Fox visits Holland - - - - 1684
Death of Charles II. More than 5,100 Friends imprisoned during his reign; 1,383 Friends in gaol on accession of James II. Release of many Friend prisoners - 1685
Revocation of Edict of Nantes. Thomas Ellwood's "Rogero Mastix" - - - - - 1685
Toleration Act passed. More than 100 Friends' Meetings licensed in West Riding soon after this. Most of them private dwelling-houses - - - 1689
Death of George Fox, 13th January (*i.e.* 11 mo. 1690 O.S.). About 60,000 Quakers in existence - - 1691
Friends' Affirmation Bill passed - - - - 1696
Friends known to be resident in 464 towns and villages in Yorkshire about this time - - - - 1700
Simplification of Friends' form of Affirmation legalised - 1722
Elders appointed - - - - - - 1727
Membership with Friends defined by Minute of Yearly Meeting - - - - - - 1738
Rise of Methodism - - - - - 1739
Calendar amended. New Year's Day, January 1st instead of March 25th. January becomes the "first month" with corresponding changes throughout - - 1752
John Woolman dies at York; growing interest in anti-Slavery Movement - - - - - 1772
Recording of Ministers; Early Minute - - - 1773
Declaration of American Independence - - - 1776
Establishment of Ackworth School; Dr. John Fothergill 1779
Sunday Schools begun by Raikes - - - - 1780
"Book of Discipline" first printed - - - 1783
(Revised editions in 1802, 1834, 1861, 1883, 1906).
Establishment of the Women's Yearly Meeting - - 1784
Opening of York Retreat - - - - 1796

Boys' School begun in Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting premises in Lawrence Street, York, by William Simpson	1823
Roman Catholic Emancipation Act	1826
Hicksite Secession in America	1827
Scope of Affirmation enlarged; *Test and Corporation Acts repealed*	1828
Friends' Provident Institution established	1832
Scope of Affirmation further enlarged. Admission of Friends to Parliament	1833
Dissenters' Marriage and General Registration Acts; Tithe Commutation. Friends' Education Society founded; Beaconite Controversy	1836
Surrender of Friends' Registers to Government; entries of Births, 260,000; Marriages, 40,000; Burials, 310,000	1840
Friends' First-day School Association founded	1847
Friends' Foreign Mission Association founded	1868
Abolition of Compulsory Church-rates	1868
Removal of Religious Tests in Oxford, Cambridge and Durham Universities	1870
Burial Acts' Amendment Act passed	1880
Richmond (Friends') Conference, U.S.A.	1887
Affirmation Amendment Act passed	1888
Manchester Conference on Home Missions	1895
Darlington Conference on Foreign Missions	1896
First Summer School (at Scarborough)	1897
Yearly Meeting in Leeds (the first held in the provinces since 1660)	1905

[The Editor is responsible for the Appendices. The Chronological Table has been compiled mainly from several prepared by John S. Rowntree, and from that contained in J. W. Rowntree's "*Essays and Addresses.*"]

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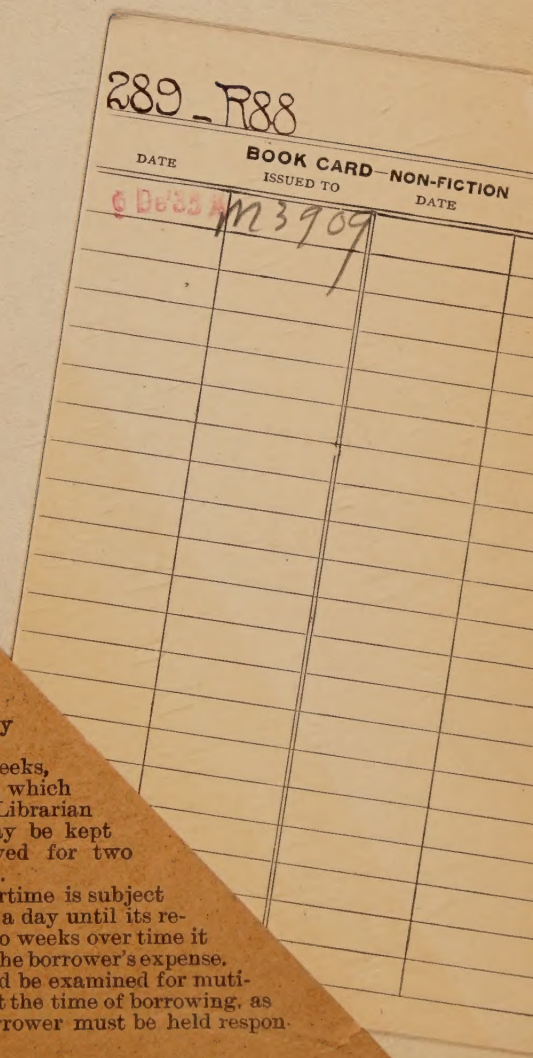

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